

Open Research Online

The Open University's repository of research publications and other research outputs

Living in two worlds: A study of the variety and characteristics of church life and policies in selected Church of England parishes

Thesis

How to cite:

Hill, Colin (1988). Living in two worlds: A study of the variety and characteristics of church life and policies in selected Church of England parishes. PhD thesis The Open University.

For guidance on citations see [FAQs](#).

© 1988 The Author



<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>

Version: Version of Record

Link(s) to article on publisher's website:

<http://dx.doi.org/doi:10.21954/ou.ro.0000ded6>

Copyright and Moral Rights for the articles on this site are retained by the individual authors and/or other copyright owners. For more information on Open Research Online's data [policy](#) on reuse of materials please consult the policies page.

oro.open.ac.uk



DX 85265

UNRESTRICTED

LIVING IN TWO WORLDS:

**A study of the variety and
characteristics of church
life and policies in selected
Church of England parishes.**

A thesis submitted to The Open University

for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

(Interdisciplinary Social Sciences)

by

Colin Hill, B.Sc.

on 29th February, 1988

VOLUME 1

(of 4 volumes)

Author's number: M7020017 Chapters I to III

Date of submission: 28th March 1988

Date of award: 17 November 1988

HIGHER DEGREES OFFICE
LIBRARY AUTHORISATION FORM

STUDENT: THE REV. DR. COLIN HILL SERIAL NO: M7020017

DEGREE: DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

TITLE OF THESIS: LIVING IN TWO WORLDS: A STUDY OF THE
VARIETY AND CHARACTERISTICS OF CHURCH LIFE AND POLICIES
IN SELECTED CHURCH OF ENGLAND PARISHES.

I confirm that I am willing that my thesis be made available to readers and maybe photocopied, subject to the discretion of the Librarian.

SIGNED: 

DATE: 30th January 1988

Living in Two Worlds : A study of the variety and characteristics of
church life and policies in selected Church of England parishes -
by Colin Hill, February 1988

ABSTRACT

The thesis advances a sociological model of local Church of England churches.

The model is based on a study of the process of secularisation which is seen to influence the local churches towards their becoming specialist religious organisations. The variety of ways in which churches respond to this influence is an important part of understanding the differences between churches.

144 parishes from the West Midlands and from four New Towns were investigated by postal survey. Follow-up interviews with clergy and churchwardens in thirteen selected parishes provided the most important data for the development of the model.

The model has two axes: the priorities held by local churches and the activities which the churches pursue. Priorities and activities are classified according to whether they are sacred or secular orientated. Four ideal types emerge from the model: the Sectarian Church, with sacred activities and priorities; the Missionising Church, with secular activities but sacred priorities; the Community Church, with secular activities and priorities; and the Civic Church, with sacred activities but secular priorities.

The thirteen parishes are plotted on the model and some of the applications of the model are demonstrated.

Subsidiary areas of investigation are the distinctiveness of New Town church life; the priorities of the clergy and their influence on the local church; and findings about the "well-being" of the local church which challenge the stereotype view of the Church of England in decline.

The model, rooted in sociological theory and research data, is shown to be robust and valuable in understanding variations between local churches, different aspects of their life and changes taking place over time.

CONTENTS

	page
List of Diagrams	(vi)
List of Tables	(vii)
I INTRODUCTION	
1. Purpose of the Study	2
2. Preliminary Research in Sheffield and Ripon	2
3. The Subjects of this Research	3
4. The Basic Method	4
5. The Respondents	5
6. The Researcher	5
7. Outline of the Argument	7
II TYPOLOGIES AND MODELS of the CHURCH	13
1. Purpose and scope of Chapter	14
2. Ways of Looking at Relig. Groups	15
(a) Range of classifications and models	15
(b) Historical and Biblical Analyses	15
(c) The Function of Religion	16
(i) Analyses of the Function of Religion	16
(ii) Typologies based on function	18
(iii) Purpose and Function	19
(d) Organisational Typologies	20
(e) Attitudes to the Modern World	21
3. The Church-Sect Model	22
(a) Origins and definitions of the Model	22
(b) Features and Criteria of Church and Sect	24
(c) Elaborations of the Church-Sect Model	28
(d) Variants of the Church-Sect Model	30
(e) Movement of Churches between types	33
(f) Summary of conclusions	
from the discussion of the Church-Sect Model	36
4. Models of Leadership	38
III SECULARISATION	49
1. Introduction	50
2. Development of Secularisation	50
(a) Seeds of the Process	51
(b) Urbanisation and Metropolisation	53
(i) Social Differentiation	54
(ii) Change from Community to Association	55
(iii) Pluralism	55
(iv) Privatised Religion	56
3. Secularisation and associates	57
(a) Irreligiosity	57
(b) Desacralisation	58
(c) Secularisation and the Church	59
(i) The Marginalised Institution of the Church	60
(ii) Religious Conceptual framework losing power	62
4. Secularisations Agenda for the Church	64
(a) Communal and Associational Membership	65
(b) Religious ethic in tension with secular values	65
(c) From "Basic" to "Serving" Institution	66
(d) Religion as a separate category	68
(e) Definition of Religion	69

IV	DEFINITIONS & RESEARCH QUESTIONS	80
1.	Introduction	81
2.	Definitions of Concepts used in this Study	84
	(a) Available terms	85
	(b) "Sacred Orientation" and "Secular Orientation"	86
	(c) Sacred and Secular Orientation in the Local Church	86
3.	Research Questions	87
	(a) Concerning activities of the Local Church	87
	(b) Concerning priorities in the Local Church	88
	(i) Function and purpose	88
	(ii) New Towns and Priorities	89
	(iii) Influence of the Clergy	89
	(c) Strands in the research and possible axes for modelling	90
V	POSTAL SURVEY	98
1.	The Survey	99
	(a) Purpose	99
	(b) The Sample	100
	(c) The Questionnaire	101
	(d) The Mechanics of the Survey	103
2.	The Analysis	104
	(a) Limitations	104
	(b) Basic Data	104
	(i) The Variables	104
	(ii) Associations between the Variables	107
	(iii) The most "Active" Variables	109
	(c) Sacred and Secular Orientation	110
	(i) Relationship between Sacred and Secular orientations	110
	(ii) "Outward" and "Inward" churches	111
	(d) Priorities	113
	(i) Expectations	113
	(ii) Priorities versus Activities	113
	(iii) Consistency between Priorities and Activities	115
	(iv) Top Priorities	116
	(v) Priority Clusters	118
	(e) New Town Parishes	119
	(i) Associations involving the New Town Variable	119
	(ii) Church Attendance and Membership	120
	(iii) Priorities in New Town Parishes	123
	(iv) Consistency of Priorities with Activities in New Town Parishes	126
	(v) Sacred and Secular Orientation	129
	(vi) Features of New Town parishes and amounts of new housing	130
	(f) Clerical, Corporate and Contextual Factors	132
	(i) Three categories of Variable	132
	(ii) Clerical factors and their associations	134
	(iii) Preliminary models including clerical factors	137
	(iv) Corporate factors and their Associations	137
	(v) Contextual Factors	139
	(vi) Summary of indications regarding categories of factors	140
	(g) Church Strength	140
	(i) Associations involving church strength	140
	(ii) Church strength and sacred and secular activity levels	142

(h) Provisional Indications	143
(i) Relating to Sacred and Secular orientations of church life	143
(ii) Relating to the Priorities of the Clergy	144
(iii) Relating to the distinctiveness of New Town Parishes	144
(iv) Relating to the role of the Clergy	145
(v) Relating to the well-being of the local church	145
 VI 13 PARISHES	 149
1. The Emergent Model	150
(a) Principal criteria	151
(b) The consequences of secularisation	151
(i) Religious ethic in tension	151
(ii) The Serving Church	152
(c) Indications from the Postal Survey	153
(i) No Simple polarity	153
(ii) The "Outward" type of Church	153
(iii) Converse of New Town features	153
(d) Preliminary model	155
(i) The Sectarian Church	156
(ii) The Missionising Church	156
(iii) The Civic Church	157
(iv) The Community Church	157
2. Parish Interviews and their purpose	158
3. Outline of Method	159
(a) Sample selection	159
(b) Interview Method	160
(c) Interview questions	161
(d) Interviewees and interviewer	162
4. Pen picture of Parishes and Interviews	163
5. Results of Interviews	174
(a) How Churches saw themselves	174
(b) Analysis of Interviews	176
(c) Nature of Interview Results	178
 VII NEW TOWNS	 181
1. Introduction	182
2. Distinctive Features of New Town Churches	182
3. Priorities in New Town Parishes	184
(a) Consistency of Priorities and Activities	184
(i) Indications from Postal Survey	184
(ii) Indications from interviews	186
(b) The Nature of Priorities	187
4. Sacred and Secular Orientated Activity in New Towns	188
5. Membership and Attendance	190
6. Conclusions about the New Town Church	192
(a) The Non-Civic Church	192
(b) Summary and overview	194

VIII CLERGY	199
1. Introduction	200
(a) Purpose of this Chapter	200
(b) Range of Information about the role of the Clergy	200
2. Sacred and Secular Orientations of Clergy Priorities	202
3. Factors related to Clergy Priorities	204
(a) Consistency between Priorities and activities	204
(i) Prior expectations	204
(ii) Postal Survey results	205
(b) Churchmanship	205
(i) Felt significance of Churchmanship	206
(ii) Churchmanship and sacred/secular orientations	207
(c) Length of Service of Clergy and Clergy Priorities	210
4. Clerical Predispositions and the Orientation of Church Activities	211
5. Lay and Clerical Perceptions	212
6. Conclusions about the Role of the Clergy	215
(a) Clergy Priorities and Secularisation	216
(b) The Role of the Clergy: the Clericalised Church	216
(i) Clergy and their own needs	217
(ii) Length of Incumbency	218
(iii) The Group of Clerical Factors	219
(iv) Results of the Interviews	220
(v) Conclusions on the Clericalised Church	222
IX WELL BEING	231
1. Church Strength	232
(a) Background trends	232
(b) Numerical data from this Study	233
(i) Active Nature of Church Strength Variables	233
(ii) Attendance	234
(iii) Membership	236
(iv) Changes in Attendance and Membership	238
(c) Clarification of Evidence from this Study	239
(i) Church Strength Variables	239
(ii) Non-responding parishes	241
(iii) Previous Research in the dioceses of Sheffield and Ripon	243
(iv) Impressions of church strength from interviews	244
(d) Conflict of data with perceived trends	246
(i) Indices used for assessing strength of church affiliation	246
(ii) Researcher's biases	249
(iii) Features of the sample	249
(iv) Supporting data	250
2. The Persisting Phenomenon	251
(a) Universal need for religion?	251
(b) Privatisation	252
(i) Decline in Secular Associations	252
(ii) Privatisation of religion	252
(c) Persistence of Belief	255
(d) "Successful" Churches	258
(i) Secular and Sacred orientations	258
(ii) Growth of larger and smaller Churches	259
(iii) The growth of New Town Churches	261
(iv) Features of Strong & Growing Churches	264
3. Summary	267

X	THE MODEL	280
1.	Development of the Model	281
	(a) Preliminary Model	281
	(b) Refinement of the Model	283
2.	Description of the Model	287
	(a) General Properties	287
	(b) The Sectarian Church	288
	(c) The Missionising Church	289
	(d) The Community Church	291
	(e) The Civic Church	293
	(f) The 13 Parishes and the Model	294
	(g) Changes over time	299
	(h) Use of Ancillary Buildings	303
	(i) The Facility of the Model	308
3.	Model in relation to theoretical Concepts	309
	(a) The Whole model	309
	(i) Correspondence with Weberian Analysis	309
	(ii) Role of the Church within wider society	311
	(iii) The Axis of Active and Passive Responses	313
	(b) Examination of Ideal Types of the Local Church	314
	(i) The Sectarian Church	314
	(ii) The Missionising Church	318
	(iii) The Community Church	320
	(iv) The Civic Church	321
	(c) Church Leadership	324
XI	POSTSCRIPT	336
1.	Aim of the Research	336
2.	Application of the Model	336
3.	The subsidiary areas of investigation	338
	(a) The distinctive New Town Church	338
	(b) The predominant and Sacred Orientated clergy	339
	(c) The church being well	339
4.	Further Research	340
	(a) Church members	340
	(b) The future of the Civic Church	340
	(c) Clergy and types	341
5.	Putting the Model to work	341

APPENDICES

Appendix I - The Postal Survey

Appendix II - The Interviews

BIBLIOGRAPHY

List of Diagrams

	page
1:1 Outline of Research Process	10
2:1 Outline of Research Process	13
2:2 The Function of Religion	19
2:3 Membership - Legitimacy Model	26
2:4 Monopolism - Pluralism :Acceptance - Rejection Typology	32
3:1 Outline of Research Process	49
3:2 Options for the Religious Institution in Society	67
4:1 Outline of Research Process	80
5:1 Outline of Research Process	98
5:2 Top scoring activities being given highest priority	118
6:1 Outline of Research Process	149
6:2 Options for the "serving" church	152
6:3 A preliminary model of Church of England Churches	156
7:1 Outline of Research Process	181
7:2 Associations between Church growth, ecumenical activity and New Town parishes	191
8:1 Outline of Research Process	199
8:2 Distribution of Clergy Priority Scores	202
9:1 Outline of Research Process	231
9:2 Numbers of parishes with various Sunday attendances	235
9:3 Numbers of parishes with various sizes of church membership	237
10:1 Outline of Research Process	280
10:2 A Model of Church of England Parishes	286
10:3 A comparative plotting of the 13 parishes on the Model	295
10:4 A comparative plotting of the 13 parishes showing direction of changes since the postal survey	300
10:5 A comparative plotting of 12 parishes, including plotting of parishes according to the use of ancillary premises	305
10:6 The estimated location of the Active-Passive Axis on the Model of the Local Church	315
10:7 The Civic Church in Geddes' "City"	323
10:8 Types of leadership of religious groups shown on the Model of the Local Church	328

List of Tables

	page
5:1 The Variables	105
5:2 Associations between Variables: Summary Table	108
5:2 Associations between "secular" and "sacred" variables	110
5:4 Corporate secular activity versus secular priority score	114
5:5 Total secular score versus secular priority score	114
5:6 Total secular score versus sacred priority score	115
5:7 Summary of Priority/Activity score associations	116
5:8 Frequency of activities being given highest priority	117
5:9 Frequency of various clusters of top priorities	119
5:10 Associations with whether or not parish is in a New Town	120
5:11 Associations of attendance and membership with housing age	121
5:12 Demolition against various factors	122
5:13 Conditional percentage distribution of sacred priority score by New Town and non-New Town parishes	124
5:14 Conditional percentage distribution of Secular Priority Scores by New Town and non-New Town parishes	124
5:15 Groups of priority clusters by parish: New Town and other	125
5:16 Conditional distribution of priority clusters in New Town and non-New Town parishes	126
5:17 Correlation scores for Activities and Priorities in New Town and non-New Town parishes	127
5:18 Chart of significant correlations of Priorities with Activities	128
5:19 Associations of levels of Church Activities with whether or not parish is in a New Town	128
5:20 Summary comparison of associations of New Town variable and new housing variable	131
5:21 Conditional percentage distribution of corporate sacred activity scores against the churchmanship of the theological colleges of the clergy	135
5:22 Associations between church strength and other variables	141
6:1 How the churches saw themselves	176
6:2 Rank scores of predominance of Sacred against Secular orientation	177
7:1 Distinctive features of New Town churches	183
7:2 Sacred priorities and secular activities in New Town parishes	184
7:3 Secular priorities and activities in New Town parishes	184
7:4 Sacred priorities and secular activities in non-New Town parishes	185
7:5 Secular priorities and activities in non-New Town parishes	185
8:1 Importance of Churchmanship of colleagues to clergy	206
8:2 Churchmanship and sacred/secular orientation	209
8:3 13 Parishes: percentage of corresponding responses	212
9:1 Statistically significant associations between "church strength" variables and other variables	234
9:2 Numbers of parishes showing various changes in Attendance and Membership	238
9:3 Percentages of responding parishes showing various changes in Attendance and Membership	239
9:4 Demolition, new building and pastoral re-organisation against church membership and attendance	240
9:5 Membership changes in parishes responding with and without reminders	242
9:6 Attendance changes in parishes responding with or without reminders	243
9:7 Numbers on Electoral Rolls in the Dioceses of Ripon and Sheffield	244
9:8 Interviewer's impressions of congregational strength of 13 parishes	245

9:9 Baptisms, confirmations and attendance in the Church of England 1966-1977	247
9:10 Private Belief in Leeds	256
9:11 Association with Church in Leeds	257
9:12 Sacred and Secular orientations and Church strength	259
9:13 Membership changes in Methodist Churches in Telford	260
9:14 Membership change against ecumenical activity	261
9:15 Attendance change against ecumenical activity	262
9:16 Membership change against whether in New Town	262
9:17 Attendance change against whether in New Town	263
9:18 Percentage of responding non-New Town parishes showing various changes in attendance and membership	264

Chapter One

I N T R O D U C T I O N

I INTRODUCTION

1. Purpose of the Study

The wonder of the Church of England is that it contains people of such diverse religious opinions, even amongst the bench of bishops! This variety is reflected in local Anglican churches and has been described by many labels which indicate differing kinds of church: the most common such labels are High Church, Low Church, Anglo-Catholic, Evangelical and Middle-of-the-Road. Descriptive though these labels may be, they offer little in the way of explanation as to why local churches differ. They often focus entirely on the more striking characteristics apparent in Sunday worship, such as what the officiant wears or whether incense is used. (1)

This study aims to discover a conceptual framework by which differences between Church of England churches can be understood and explained. The aim is to answer a number of questions which arise out of previous work, and out of the study of relevant literature. Most of all, however, the intention is to discover a sociological model (2) which will help to explain differences between local churches.

2. Preliminary Research in Sheffield and Ripon

In 1977 I conducted research into 121 parishes which constituted a one third sample of Church of England parishes within the Dioceses of Sheffield and Ripon. (Hill. 1977) In classifications of social research, that research was clearly 'exploratory'. (3) The intention was to open up an inquiry into differences in policies pursued by local churches.

Unexpected statistical associations, and lack of associations, appeared.

There was evidence of widely differing levels of both social welfare activity and more narrowly 'religious' (4) activities.

Local churches were observed to be increasing, rather than decreasing, in membership. A fascinating result was the complete lack of evidence of any association between the priorities of the clergy and the kinds of activities undertaken by their respective churches. For example, if a clergyman put prayer as his top priority, there was no greater chance of corporate prayer having a dominant place in his church than if he regarded community development as his first priority.

The research into churches in the Dioceses of Ripon and Sheffield raised more questions than it answered. Where its results are relevant to this study they will be mentioned. That work was most important, however, in laying the basis for this research.

3. The Subjects of this Research

This study takes local and Church of England churches as its subject. Account will have to be taken of wider perspectives, but always with the aim of illuminating the particular scene of local Church of England parishes. We shall note local circumstances, particularly in considering the 13 parishes in which in-depth interviews were conducted. Yet the research is not a narrative about a series of unique local situations. The aim is to generalise about the local church, so that other local churches can be examined in the light of these findings. (5) (6)

Towler and Coxon encourage the examination of the Church of England locally. "The Church of England" they write "is well placed to be a representative

case of religious organisations in the modern world. For longer than any other church, it has developed alongside, and in response to, a scientific industrial culture which is the world's dominant cultural form". (Towler & Coxon (1979) p.2) Bailey also remarks on the "conspicuous absence of study of established denominations at a micro level" (Bailey (1983) p.10).

Hinings and Foster add their voice in calling for more work in understanding religious groups, like the Church of England, at the "church end" of the church-sect model (Hinings & Foster (1972) p.2). (7)

4. The Basic Method

This research corresponds to Wiseman's description of 'qualitative' research. She likens it to a detective story, in which not all the programme is set out at the beginning. In such research, data collection intermingles with analysis, as opposed to the clearer division in purely empirically based hypothesis testing (Wiseman (1974) p.317). To use Wiseman's analogy, the core of the mystery for us has been the search to find out how to understand the differences between local churches.

Although, for the sake of coherence, most of the theoretical material arising from study of the literature appears in the second and third chapters of this study, later reading constantly adjusted the direction of the research as attempts were made to understand empirical data. (8)

Notwithstanding, the first major task was to look at the relevant literature. The debt to a wide range of writers will be obvious: a deliberate attempt has been made to take account of the writing of church leaders as well as of recognised authorities in the field. Of particular significance have been the writings of Weber and Durkheim whom so many other writers in this area use as reference points for sociological theory.

The first stage of data collection was a postal questionnaire sent to 144 clergy responsible for parishes in second and third generation New Towns and from other areas in the West Midlands. The reasons for the particular choices of sample will be made clear in Chapter Five and in Appendix I. A large amount of data was generated from the replies to the questionnaire. The resulting information serves two major purposes. It provides straightforward information about such factors as changes in size of congregations, the distinctiveness of churches in New Towns and the priorities of the clergy. Secondly, and perhaps more significantly, it enables a stratified sample of parishes to be chosen for interview, and provides a crude indication of elements which might be incorporated into the desired model of the local church.

Serious note was taken of warnings about the unreliability of many conclusions drawn by sociologists from the statistical treatment of numerical data. (9) Hence limited use is made of such statistical data, and attempts to find consensus between statistical information and other information throughout this study. The final justification for the model which is developed does not lie in the data analysis of the questionnaire. The model is validated by its adequacy in making sense of what was happening in the parishes where interviews took place, and by meeting various requirements emerging from the discussion of theoretical issues.

The pivot upon which the research stands is the discursive data drawn from the interviews in 13 parishes. Thus there is a significant ethnographic content to this study.

The model developed emerged gradually during the period of the research.

Some elements could have been guessed at the outset, for example, the axes of sacred and secular orientation. (10) These have been tested for credibility against the facts which emerged. Other features of the model have come from the study of the literature, from the results of the postal questionnaire and, most significantly, from insights gained from the interviews. There is, within the model, an attempt to identify 'ideal types', an hypothesised pure form of a religious group which, to use Schutz's analogy, is like an actor whose fictitious consciousness contains nothing but an ascribed set of typical notions, purposes and goals. (Schutz (1954) p.25)

5. The Respondents

This study is not primarily a study of clergy, but of local churches. Yet the vast majority of the data in the postal survey was supplied by clergy since they act as the principal executive officers for the local church. Both lay leaders (Church Wardens) and clergy were interviewed in the 13 parishes, and they were interviewed separately so that the laity were not inhibited by their vicar's presence. Even so, much of the material from the interviews was about clergy. Thus Chapter Eight deals with the role of clergy.

6. The Researcher

The predisposition of the researcher clearly influences any research. (11) In this research a particular factor must be noted: namely that during the time of the research I have been employed as a priest within the Church of England and within Telford New Town from which some data has been drawn.

Four consequences of this are worth recording. The first is that the high

response rate for the postal questionnaire and the willingness (often eagerness) of clergy and laity to be interviewed seemed, in part, to be because I was seen as 'one of them' with a real concern about the local church. Certainly the support of the several bishops, quoted in all my initial approaches to parishes, was related to my being an active clergyman in two of the dioceses involved. (12)

The second consequence is that I have been studying that with which I am intimately familiar. This is a clear disadvantage in that it increases the chance of long-established preconceptions influencing the study. It also has the advantage of my understanding, from the inside, much of what I have been researching. Certainly it pushes this research further in the direction of ethnography. A third consequence is the effect on the research results from my being rural dean in two of the Deaneries involved. (13)

The final consequence of my working as a clergyman during the period of research is that the research has taken a long time to complete: eight years. This meant that changes took place within the sample parishes during the process of research. It has also meant that changes over a period of time could be considered, and has influenced the model considerably as Chapter Ten will show.

7. Outline of the Argument

Chapter Two of this work contains a brief survey of different kinds of models, typologies and classifications of religious groups. There then follows a discussion of the Church-Sect model, with particular attention given to issues which are directly relevant to this study. A brief examination of leadership in religious groups concludes this chapter.

Chapter Three begins with a summary description of the development of secularisation. Three distinctive, but often confused, concepts of irreligiosity, desacralisation and secularisation are considered, and the principal effects of secularisation on the church noted. This leads to the defining of 'religion' and the identifying of the critical element of the agenda for the local church in modern times. In Chapter Four this theme is developed, and the concepts of 'sacred' and 'secular' discussed and defined. The need to distinguish between intention and practice in the local church is recalled and noted as an important dimension to our investigation.

Chapters Five and Six deal with the postal survey and interviews in the selected parishes respectively. These lay the basis for the development of the model.

In Chapter Seven attention is paid to the distinctiveness of the parishes in New Towns, especially as disclosed by the postal survey. Chapter Eight considers material about the clergy drawn from both postal survey and interview. This includes material about the emphases placed by the clergy on different aspects of their work, consideration of the degree of consistency between priorities and activities, matters relating to churchmanship, comparison of lay and clerical perceptions and general conclusions about the role of the clergy.

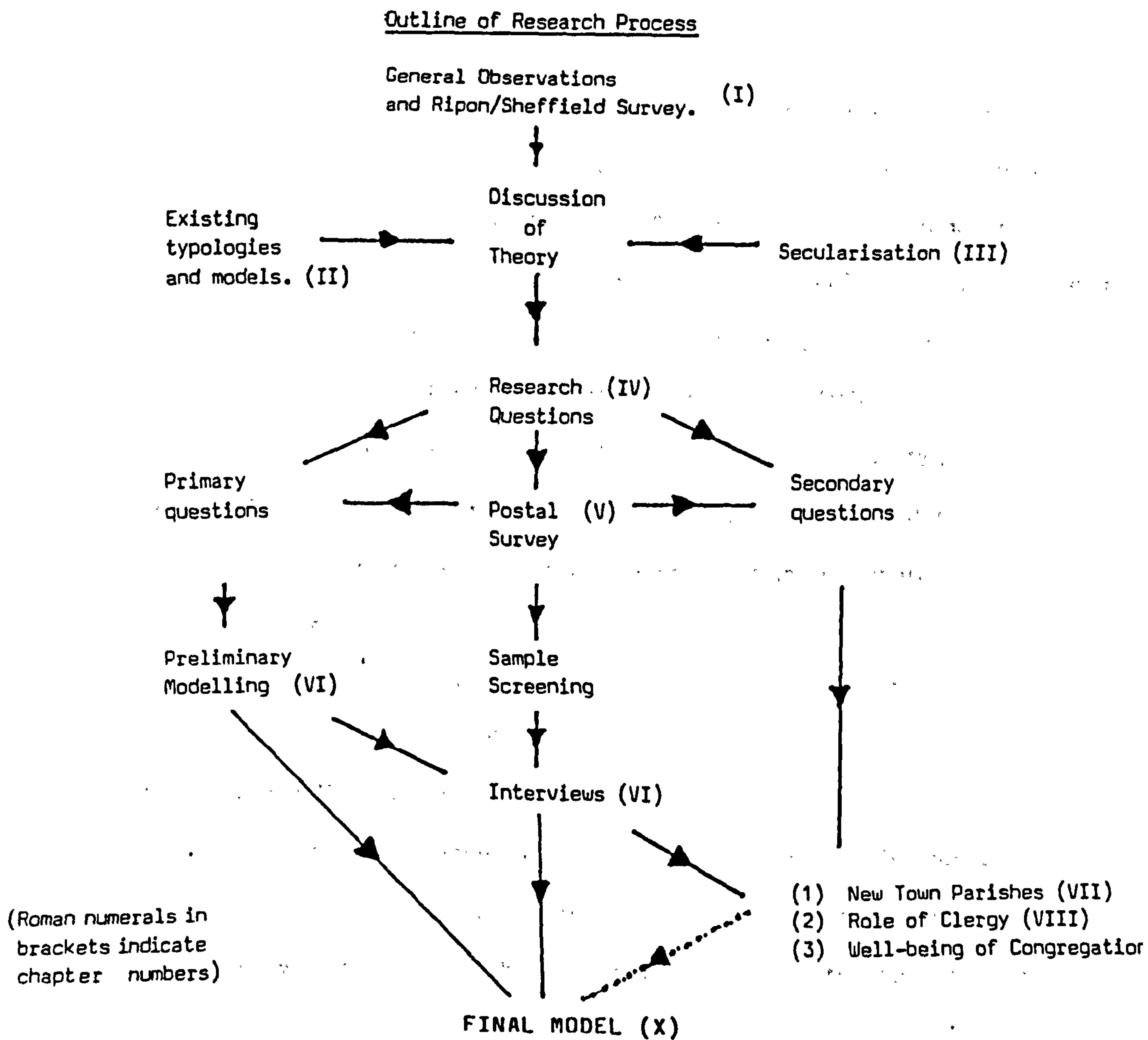
The 'Well-being of the Congregation' is examined in Chapter Nine. Numerical data from this study about church strength is compared with background trends and stereotype pictures of changes in church membership. The phenomenon of the persistence of religious belief is considered and

conclusions drawn about strong and growing churches.

In Chapter Ten a model for local Church of England churches is developed. This model is used to look at 'the thirteen parishes' and analysed extensively in the light of major insights resulting from the work on the literature in Chapters Two and Three. The ideal types within the model are also described in detail. Summary conclusions of the whole study then form the subject of Chapter Eleven.

A diagrammatic representation of the procedure of the research is set down as diagram 1:1.

Diagram 1:1



Chapter 1 Notes

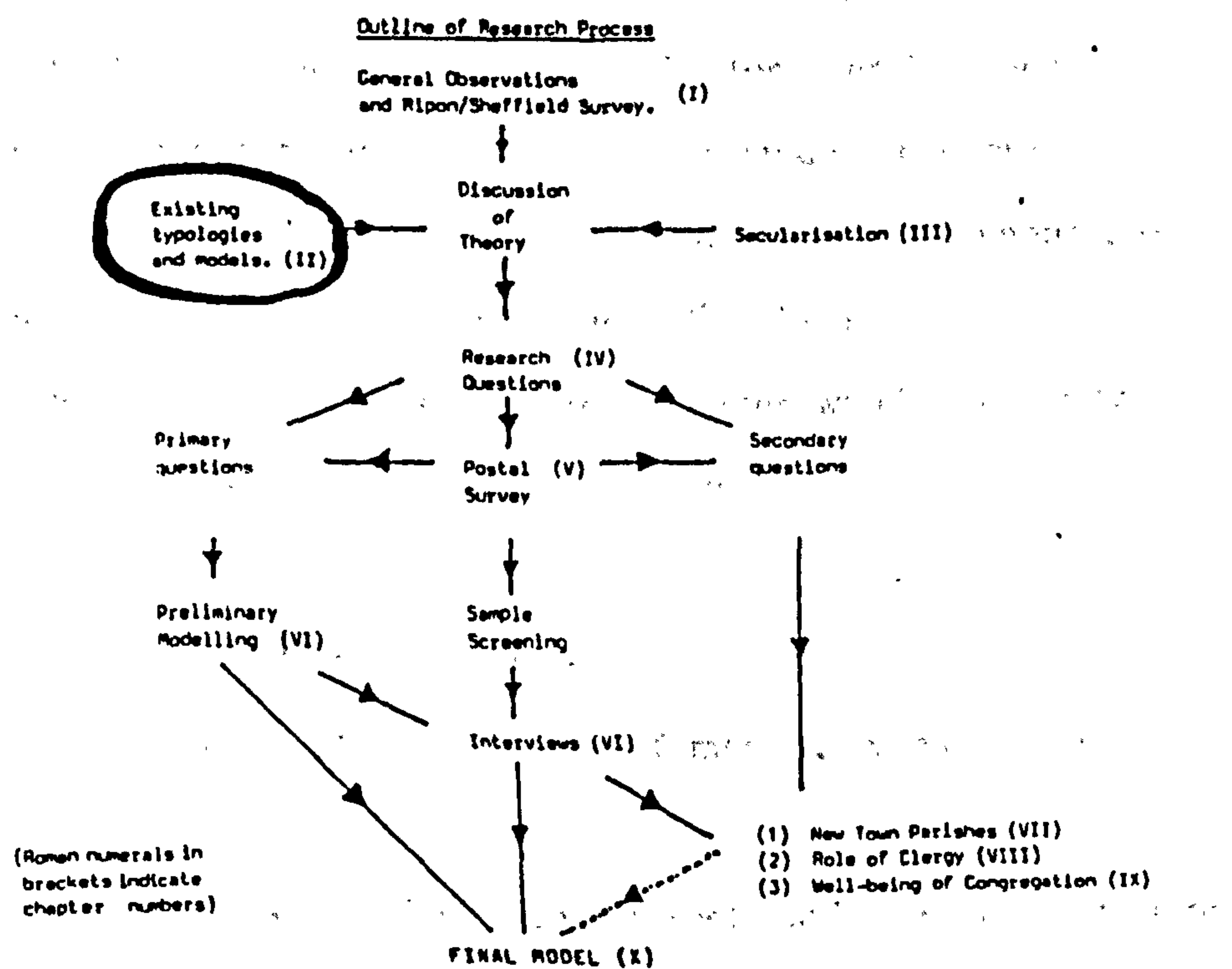
1. Bailey makes the point that labels, especially of churchmanship, are quite inadequate in predicting attitudes such as to worship in public schools.
2. By 'model' I refer to sociological descriptions of systems which suggest possible relationships between empirical variables (Cotgrove (1967) p.31ff). Parsons (in Weber (1963 edn) p.lxiii) commends this way of going beyond Weber's concept of 'ideal type'. In Ramsey's terms I mean 'disclosure models' which give insight into the phenomenon they represent. (Ramsey (1964) and Collingwood et al (1980) p.16) Halsey's description of the concept of model is also helpful. Model, he claims, means "demonstration": thus in our model we intend to 'demonstrate' what is going on within the local Church of England churches. (Halsey (1978) p.96)
3. See the classification by McWilliams (1970) (p.3) following Sellitz et al (1959) and Tripodi et al (1969).
4. See Chapter III, section 4(e) (page 70) for a clear definition of the meaning generally attached to the word 'religion' in this study.
5. Allon-Smith and Crouch are clear that it is what happens locally which "signifies whether or not the church is exercising its true vocation". (Allon-Smith & Crouch (1979) p.15)
6. Cox describes the form of church life as being "dependent upon the function, or the mission, of the church" (Cox (1965) p.126). Whilst examining the local form of church life, and how the function of the church is perceived locally, we might also be providing clues about what is happening on a wider scale.
7. See Section 2(f)(i) of Chapter III of this study. (page 36)

8. In social science there is a tension between those who emphasise the need for theory to be generated out of empirical research (Positivism) and those emphasising how theory both determines the nature of, and subsequently interprets, empirical research (Realism). See Selvin and Stuart (1966) pp20-23 as an example of the former and Kuhn (1970) p.50 et seq. of the latter. In the method used here we try to pay heed to the insights of both schools.
9. Selvin & Stuart (1966) pp20-23.
10. See Chapter IV herein.
11. See Niebuhr (1946) p.19.
12. During the period of research I was licensed in both the Dioceses of Lichfield and Hereford, and simultaneously Rural Dean of a deanery in each diocese.
13. Particular attention is drawn to this in Appendix II, section 1, page AII-9.

Chapter Two

TYPOLOGIES AND MODELS OF THE CHURCH

Diagram 2:1



II TYPOLOGIES AND MODELS OF THE CHURCH

1. Purpose and Scope of this Chapter

As was said in the previous chapter, this study attempts to discover a conceptual framework which will provide a way to understand the variety of local Church of England churches. Much work has been done on providing conceptual frameworks which describe religious groups in general. Some are considered here so as to see what can be learnt from them which will help in accomplishing our present task. We shall, however, pass fairly quickly over analyses such as biblical and historical ones, concentrating more on the sociological analyses which are of direct relevance for us.

A range of categorisations of religious groups will be mentioned. The word 'typology' will be used to refer to a series of ideal types, which are distinct from each other but do not necessarily fit together into one coherent pattern. Such a coherent pattern which provides an overall conceptual framework for understanding a particular social phenomenon, or set of phenomena, will be referred to as a 'model'. Some non-technical words, such as 'classification' will be used for analyses which are really just lists of different kinds of groups or phenomena.

What follows is divided into three sections:-

- a brief general survey of different kinds of models, typologies and classifications;
- a more prolonged discussion of the Church-sect model, with an attempt to identify issues raised which will be particularly relevant to this present study;
- and a brief look at types of leadership of religious groups.

2. Ways of looking at Religious Groups

(a) Range of classifications and models

The casual observer quickly sees that there is a wide variety of religious groups. There are differences between religions, arising from cultural and philosophical divergences. There are also differences between groups from within one religion. Within Christianity the kind of organisation which expresses its corporate identity in an elaborate high mass is clearly quite different from that which gathers for a Quaker Sunday Meeting. As observed by Slater (Slater (1979) p.4) there are many ways of being religious (1)

(2): this means that there will be different kinds of religious groups.

Some diversity will arise from different religious groups seeking different ends (as, for example, those symbolised by Heaven or Nirvana), but some diversity will arise from the lack of any complete and uncontested blueprint within any of the major religious traditions. (3)

Models could, theoretically, be based on a near infinite variety of criteria. In what follows we shall be taking note of historically based models, including some based on Biblical concepts; functional and organisational models; and models based on the response of churches to the modern world. It is with these latter models that we shall be particularly concerned.

(b) Historical and Biblical Analyses

Within the historical development of the Christian Church major strands of tradition have resulted from schisms within the Church. Some writers use these schisms as the basis for categorising different parts of the Church. Such an analysis produces the obvious division between Eastern and Western Christianity, with Western Christianity being divided between Catholic and

Protestant forms. (4) (5) (6)

Some writers use Biblical concepts to describe the Christian church. The Yahwistic and Priestly traditions within the Old Testament can be seen as the basic and persisting distinction between different groups within the Christian church: viz. those concerned primarily with social and moral issues as against those concerned with ritual activity. Minear identifies different 'images' from the Bible which he claims represent different kinds of churches. (Minear (1961)). (7) (8)

A functional typology, using Biblical concepts, and bearing some resemblances to Minear's analysis is based on words appearing in New Testament Greek. Cox expounds the distinction between the Kerygmatic, Diakonic and Kolnolac functions of the Church (Cox (1965) p.127 ff). (9) Using this kind of understanding of the Church it is possible to examine different churches and traditions, looking at which of the three functions is most prominent in their corporate life and work. Bearing this possibility in mind, we look at some analyses of the function of religion.

(c) The Function of Religion

(i) Analyses of the function of religion

The two 'fathers' of the sociology of religion, Emile Durkheim and Max Weber see the function of religion in quite different ways. Weber contends that man is a meaning-seeking animal and that religious behaviour can only be understood "from the viewpoint of religious behaviour's 'meaning'" (Weber (1964 edn.) p.1). Durkheim's emphasis is on community and he sees religion in terms of that which unites people into a "moral community" (Durkheim (1976 edn.) p.47). By contrasting Durkheim and Weber, one could think of

religion running along two axes, one to do with man's search for meaning, the other with man's efforts to build community. (10) (11)

Greeley's list of the basic functions of religion includes search for meaning and the building of community, but adds striving to integrate sexuality with the rest of life; offering a channel for experiencing other-worldly powers; and providing leaders to comfort and challenge people (Greeley (1976) p.16). (12) The integration of sexuality and providing leadership do not, however, seem to be of the same order of significance as the search for meaning and the building of community. It could be argued that these two, representing Weberian and Durkheimian understandings of religion, include all other functions.

There is a tension between a simple, and possibly over-simple, model, in this case "meaning/community", and a longer list of almost anything that religion might accomplish for individuals or society. Strong, Lloyd and Allen produce a list of eight items which are something of a mixture of the function and possible benefits of religion (Strong et al. (1973)) (13)

A balance between a basic Durkheimian/Weberian dichotomy and a long, over detailed list is struck by Glock and Stark. They describe five dimensions of religiosity (Glock and Stark (1965) p.20):-

- (i) Experiential - emotional experience interpreted as being experience of ultimate reality.
- (ii) Ritualistic - religious practices of prayer, fasting etc.
- (iii) Ideological - beliefs expected of adherents.
- (iv) Intellectual - a body of knowledge of adherents (e.g. scripture).
- (v) Consequential - systems of ethics or expected behaviour.

This is a convincing analysis which seems to encompass all aspects of religious life and produce meaningful distinctions between different dimensions. This is useful in trying to understand how different religious groups may be distinguished from one another by the emphasis they lay on one or more of the five dimensions. Charismatic churches might be thought of as primarily experiential; sacramentalist churches might be regarded as primarily ritualistic. It is from looking at the function of religion in this way that some typologies emerge.

(ii) Typologies based on Function

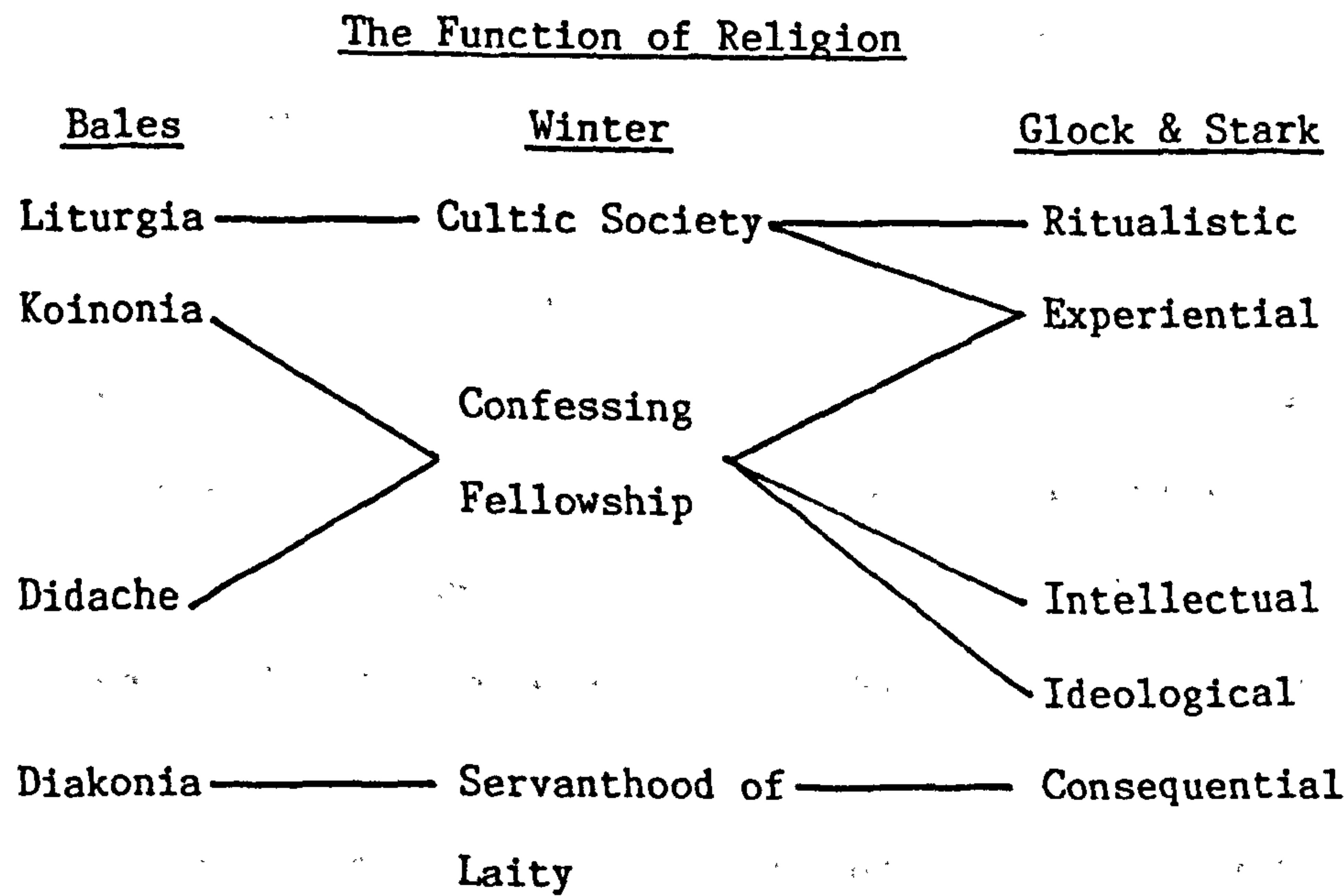
Note has already been taken of the way in which Cox, and others, have seen the function of the churches as Kerygmatic, Koinonial and Diakonic (2(b) above). Considering the life of a church in Alabama, USA, Bales adapts this scheme somewhat. He constructs a model of the church with the following elements: liturgia (worship); didache (teaching/learning); koinonia (community/fellowship); and diakonia (service). (Bales (1979) in Walker (ed.) (1979) p.21).

Bales is actually commending a balance between these various elements in the life of a church. It is, however, easy to adapt this analysis to the basis of a typology in which churches might be identified according to which of these functions is predominant.

A typology suggested by Winter resembles Bales' analysis whilst also corresponding to some elements in Glock and Stark's analysis of the function of religion (section 2(c)(i) above). Winter identifies three ideal types of religious group: "cultic society", sponsoring ritual; "confessing fellowship", bound together by common beliefs and ideals; and "servanthood

of the laity", undertaking caring activities in the outside world (Winter (1963) p.99f). The similarities between these typologies are illustrated in diagram 2:2. (14) (15)

Diagram 2:2



(iii) Purpose and Function

In devising typologies and models, there are two distinct approaches taken. In those such as Glock and Stark's the function of religion means what religion actually does in society. Others, like Bales' are more concerned with what they think religion "ought" to do. This distinction is echoed in Durkheim's differentiating the rites of a religion from its cosmologies. (16) (17) We thus draw the distinction between function and purpose: viz. between what the religious group does and what it intends to do. This is a distinction which will be picked up again when, later in this study, we look at local churches.

(d) Organisational Typologies

It is not simply the general purpose of the religious group or the actual things which the group does which describes the nature of the group. How the group is organised to accomplish its purposes and carry out its activities can also describe the group. One would expect that ideals, activities and the nature of the organisation will have substantial influence on each other. (18)

There are obvious ways of classifying churches according to the way in which they are organised. One such classification is suggested by Nankivell as he considers decision-making by British religious organisations (Nankivell (1979) p.143). Some churches are organised episcopally with authority, in the ideal type, residing in the person of the Diocesan Bishop. Some churches are organised in a centralised fashion (e.g. Methodism) with authority residing in some democratically or bureaucratically constituted national or international assembly. Other churches are partially (e.g. United Reformed Churches) or totally independent at a local level, with the church meeting, or some other locally constituted body (or appointed individual) having responsibility for decision making. (19)

An innovative piece of work on types of religious groups was carried out by Rudge (Rudge (1968)). Using concepts from management theory Rudge identified five types of organisational behaviour: 'traditional' (or patrimonial), 'charismatic' (or intuitive), 'classical' (or bureaucratic), 'human relations' (or group theory) and 'systemic' (or organic) (op. cit. p.21 ff). The traditional form of organisation aims at continuity with the past and maintaining traditions. The 'charismatic' form values spontaneity and the pursuit of intuitions, usually those of an authoritarian leader.

The object of the 'classical' organisation is the efficient and systematic functioning of the organisational machine. An organisation based on human relations is concerned with the personal relationships between its members where the leader sees himself as an enabler within the group. Rudge is advocating the systemic type of organisation as the best for the Church. In such an organisation the object is to sustain a flexible system which adapts and responds to varying situations. (20)

(e) Attitudes to the Modern World

A number of attempts to construct models or typologies of the Church have used attitudes to the modern world as a starting point. Perman, Haddon and Allon-Smith and Crouch all produce analyses which rest on a liberal/conservative dichotomy. (21) Niebuhr's typology of "Christ and Culture" rests on a categorisation of the variety of ways in which the religious message can relate to contemporary culture. He suggests five types of relationship: Christ against culture; Christ of culture; Christ above culture; Christ and culture in paradox; Christ the Transformer. (Niebuhr (1951) pp.40-43). Niebuhr's analysis is very powerful, but he has clearly constructed a typology based on theological concepts and not on a sociological model.

Berger constructs a Weberian typology consisting of "three options for religious thought" in a pluralist society: "deductive", "reductive" and "inductive". (Berger (1980) p.60 ff) Russell's analysis focuses, not on religious thought, but on the future of the religious institution in a secular society; again three options are identified - the "church of the traditionalist future", the "church of the adaptionist future", and the "church of the reformist future". (Russell (1980) pp. 297-302)

The most influential model used to analyse the relationship between the religious institution and wider society is, however, the church-sect model.

3. The Church-Sect Model

(a) Origins and Definitions of the Model

According to Swatos, the real credit for the development of the church-sect concept belongs to Weber (Swatos (1979) p.1), although the concept was popularised by Troeltsch (Troeltsch (1911 - 1981 edn.)) Swatos maintains that Weber's original typology was based on only one criterion, viz. membership. (Swatos (1979) p.3) (Andrea (1982) p.150) Troeltsch was concerned with the different ways in which individuals came into membership of a 'sect' as against a 'church' (Troeltsch (1981) p.339), but he also considered differences of behaviour between the two types. According to Swatos (op. cit. p.3) behaviour was Troeltsch's prime concern.

Troeltsch describes 'church' and 'sect' as follows:- "The Church is that type of organisation which is overwhelmingly conservative, which to a certain extent accepts the secular order, and dominates masses; in principle, therefore, it is universal The sects, on the other hand, are comparatively small groups; they aspire after personal inward perfection and they aim at direct personal fellowship between members they are forced to organise themselves in small groups and to renounce the idea of dominating the world. Their attitude towards the World, the State and Society may be indifferent, tolerant or hostile" (op. cit. p.331) In subsequent usage 'sect' has tended to mean a religious group which has only a hostile, or at best indifferent, attitude to the secular world. Indeed Johnson defines church and sect as follows: "A church is a religious group that accepts the social environment in which it exists. A sect is a

religious group that rejects the social environment in which it exists". (Johnson (1963) p. 542) Likewise, the sect is often thought of as being more conservative than the church, in that it is more reluctant to adapt itself to contemporary secular thinking. Notice here the apparent contradiction with Troeltsch's view that the 'sect' is less conservative than the 'church'. Troeltsch's 'conservative' means conforming with established secular patterns. Yet breaking with established secular patterns may involve a theological conservatism which clings hold of traditional religious values.

As Troeltsch develops his arguments further, he concludes that the fundamental distinction between church and sect is between "institutional church and voluntary churches". (op. cit. p.340) (22)

Elster, criticising elaborations of the church-sect theory by Troeltsch and Niebuhr, and commending Weber, actually seems to arrive at the same conclusion as Troeltsch: "A church, for Weber, is, strictly speaking, simply a religious organisation which claims monopolistic authority and into which one is born, whereas a sect is a voluntary religious association to which one must apply for membership and be judged worthy or not to be permitted to join (or remain) in the group". (Elster (1973) p. 380)

This then is the root of the church-sect concept: the sect is the voluntary religious organisation which separates itself out from the established institutional church of a society. What has, in part, led to the broadening of the definition of the model is the obvious probability that the sectarian group identifying itself over against the established church will also be in opposition to the ethic of the whole society. If the church is 'basic' to

the society, then the ethic of the society and the church will, in the ideal type case, be identical. Hence, Wilson's definition of sectarian religion:

"Sects are movements of religious protest. Their members separate themselves from other men in respect of their religious beliefs, practices and institutions they reject the authority of orthodox religious leaders, and often, also, of secular government". Quakers of the seventeenth century, Methodists of the eighteenth century and modern charismatic house church movements have all behaved in the way Wilson describes. Wilson defines orthodox religion as follows: "The orthodox, in contrast, compromise faith with other interests and their religion accommodates the demands of the secular culture". (Wilson (1970) p. 7)

Wilson could be criticised for his use of the word 'compromise', since it implies a distinction between demands of secular and religious authority which does not exist between the 'ideal' church and its wider culture.

(b) The Features and Criteria of Church and Sect

How people join a religious group, and the distinctiveness of the religious group's teaching against the prevailing attitudes of wider society, have both been noted as features of the church-sect distinction.

Berger identifies a further criterion for distinguishing between 'church' and 'sect'. He uses Weber's concept of charisma as his starting point in defining church as "a religious grouping based on the belief that the spirit is remote", and a sect as "a religious group based on the belief that the spirit is immediately present" (Berger (1954) p. 474). This is echoed by Wilson who refers to the struggle between institutionalism and spontaneity as being part of the dialectic between church and sect. (Wilson (1966) p. 181) (23)

Wilson's discussion contains the identification of a number of features of the distinction between church and sect which are tabulated below:-

<u>Church</u>	<u>Sect</u>
Inclusive membership (all belong)	Exclusive membership (imposing test of membership)
Professional clergy	Lay movement
Accepts different levels of commitment	Denies different levels of commitment
Accepts cultural dispositions of society	Denies cultural dispositions of society
Objective institution administering grace	Subjective fellowship
Hierarchy of leadership	Community and fraternity
Accepts non-religious demands on members	Provides total reference group for individual

A list of this kind has its problems. There is confusion about the essential nature of the ideal types. Such lists can also fall into the trap of describing one kind of sect, and not sects in general. This happens to Pope's list of twenty-one features of 'sect' as against 'church' (Pope (1942)). (24)

Some writers have sought to identify particular axes which could help us to understand the church-sect model. Hill expounds the theory, which he attributes to Robinson (Robinson (1970)), that there are two relevant axes: legitimacy and membership (Hill (1973) p. 90). The legitimacy axis depends

on whether groups have a pluralistic notion of legitimacy, accepting other groups as legitimate, or a unique view of legitimacy, rejecting the legitimacy of all other religious groups. The second axis is between inclusive membership, with membership open to all, and exclusive membership which is available only to those fulfilling strict criteria. Hill puts these two axes together to produce the model in Diagram 2:3.

Diagram 2:3

MEMBERSHIP - LEGITIMACY MODEL

Self-conceived basis of legitimacy

		Pluralistically legitimate	Uniquely legitimate
Membership Principle	Exclusive	Institutionalised Sect	Sect
	Inclusive	Denomination	Church

(Hill (1973): p.90)

Working from a different perspective Cracknell identifies three axes based on types of church found in the New Testament. The interest of these is their correspondence to features of the church-sect model as described by sociologists. Cracknell uses Biblical concepts and words in what is actually a sociological analysis. He writes of the Zion/Antioch axis which is the exclusive/inclusive axis of membership; the Obedience (to secular authority)/Subversion (against secular authority) axis; and the Corinth/Pastoral Epistle axis which is enthusiasm and freedom versus order in the church (Cracknell (1979) pp. 52-62).

Thus the literature on the church-sect model discloses five principal criteria which are either used singly, or in combinations of two or more, as

the defining (as opposed to descriptive) features of the church-sect model.

These are as follows:-

- (i) Membership : inclusive/exclusive. Sole principle used by Weber but used by many other writers.
- (ii) Compromise, or not, with secular values: Used, together with membership, by Troeltsch (25), Niebuhr (26), Johnson (op. cit.) Wilson (27), Cracknell (op. cit) etc.
- (iii) Organisation : personal or institutional. Used by Pope (24), Coser (28), Wilson (29).
- (iv) Legitimation : unique/pluralistic. Stressed by Robinson and Hill (op. cit.) Swatos (30) etc.
- (v) Revelation : immediate/remote. Stressed by Berger (op. cit.) Wilson (23), Cracknell (op. cit.) Troeltsch (31); (32)

Given the variety of criteria which have been used for defining the church-sect model there must be a real question about how helpful the model is. Goode has been extremely critical of its usefulness, claiming that "the church-sect scheme has become a collection of traits gathered from diverse sources, having little relation to one another". (Goode (1967) p.70).

Hinings and Foster have written in a similar vein, pleading for cumulative and systematic development of concepts of church-sect (Hinings and Foster (1972) p.2). They draw attention especially to lack of clarity about the 'church' root of the model.

This study is concerned with religious groups (Church of England parishes)

which, in the past, would have been part of a classic example of what has been taken to be a 'church' by reference to almost any description of the church-sect model. An objective of this research is to contribute towards the clarification of an understanding of 'church' which Hinings and Foster demanded.

The question must also arise here as to whether or not the simple polarity of the church-sect model has been influenced by implicitly judgemental frames of reference. (33) Perhaps some of the popularity of the model has arisen from this: for example the use of the word 'sectarian' in a derogatory way as meaning 'representing minority opinion with vested interest'. Yet the popularity of the model might equally well be due to its being found to be an authentic way of conceptualising differences in religious groups.

As well as criticisms of the lack of clarity of the concept of 'church' in the church-sect model, there has also been the charge that 'sect' is an umbrella term for a very wide range of religious groups with little in common. Modern Quakers, with their complete lack of hierarchy, largely silent worship, rejection of all credal statements and great emphasis on social justice, contrast starkly with some charismatic churches with rigorous hierarchies of authority, bolsterous worship, clear and unambiguous doctrines and a concern solely for 'spiritual' matters. Elaborations of the model have sought to meet this criticism.

(c) Elaborations of the Church-Sect Model

Berger's understanding of the sect as a religious group in which "the spirit is immediately present" (Berger (1954) p.474) has already been mentioned.

Berger identifies three types of sectarian movement from the form of the manifestation of the spirit: "enthusiastic", "prophetic" and "gnostic".

(Berger (1954) pp.474-485)

Wilson uses the word sect to refer to "all religious movements that emphasise their separateness and distinctiveness of mission". (Wilson (1970) p.16) Because he uses this broad definition, Wilson has been able to identify a number of distinct types of sectarian movement. Several types are clearly identified on the basis of their response to wider society: "Conversionist"; "Revolutionist" (or "transformative"); "Introversionist" and "Manipulationist". (Wilson (1966) p.196) To this list Wilson adds three less prominent types of sect: "Thaumaturgical"; "Reformist" and "Utopian".

(34) Lampard follows Wilson's analysis, helpfully reducing the major types of sect to four: Conversionist, Adventist (which seems to incorporate Wilson's Revolutionist and Utopian types), Introversionist and Manipulationist. (35)

Such analyses as these assume the basic validity of a church-sect model of religious groups, and attempt to meet the criticism that the word 'sect' is used as an umbrella for different types of group. What becomes clear in looking at these classifications of sects is the prominence of 'separateness' as the underlying feature of sectarian religious groups. In Berger's scheme this separateness is defined by immediacy of divine revelation; in Weber's writing it is expressed in terms of membership of the religious group; Niebuhr focuses on how the sectarian group avoids compromise of its principles by separating itself from wider society. The word used later in this study to express this separateness will be the word 'sacred', which will be taken to mean set apart as having some other worldly reference. (36)

Thus Wilson's general definition of a sect as "religious movements that emphasise their separateness and distinctiveness of mission" is taken as the definition in this study.

(d) Variants of the Church-Sect Model

Theoretical models are of limited use if they do not correspond with observable reality. One problem with the church-sect model is that there are existing religious groups which are not easily accommodated by the model. The Methodist Church in England, for example, is not easily classified as either 'sect' or 'church'. This is still the case when the model is restricted, as it effectively has been in this brief discussion, to Christian worshipping groups.

Becker's work on Von Wiese's sociology is an attempt to produce a model which does correspond with observable reality. Christian groups are classified into four types: 'ecclesia' - conservative universalistic church, not in conflict with secular society; 'sect' - separatist and exclusive; 'denomination' - a sect which, over time, has lost its zeal and distinctiveness; 'cult' - loosely knit and amorphous religious groups seeking personal ecstatic or supernatural effects (Becker (1932) p.624). Lampard follows a similar scheme, identifying church, sect, denominations and mysticism as four distinctive types of religious group (Lampard (1975) pp.16-21).

In his multi-volume work, which sometimes seems tangential to the main currents in the sociology of religion, Stark produces his own typology of religious (Christian) groups. It is slightly different from those of Lampard and Becker, and its difference gives a clue to a possible weakness

in some of these analyses. 'Established Religion', 'Sect' and 'Universal Church' are the three major types of Stark's model (Stark (1966) p.3). Denomination does not appear as a distinct type; it is accounted for as a sect whose members are no longer alienated from wider society.

In Lampard's typology 'Denomination' is important, and Methodism is cited as a clear example of this type. The distinctiveness of Stark's work is the stress he lays on the 'Universal Church', the sole example of which seems to be the Roman Catholic Church. The doubt which emerges is how much objectivity is inhibited by the writer's subjective desire to see his own denomination appear in the model in some clearly defined way. Are the analyses really models or are they pragmatic classifications of various religious groups? This is a major question. The distinction between the model and a classification must lie in whether or not a specific criterion or criteria are rigorously applied to develop the analysis into an ideal type model.

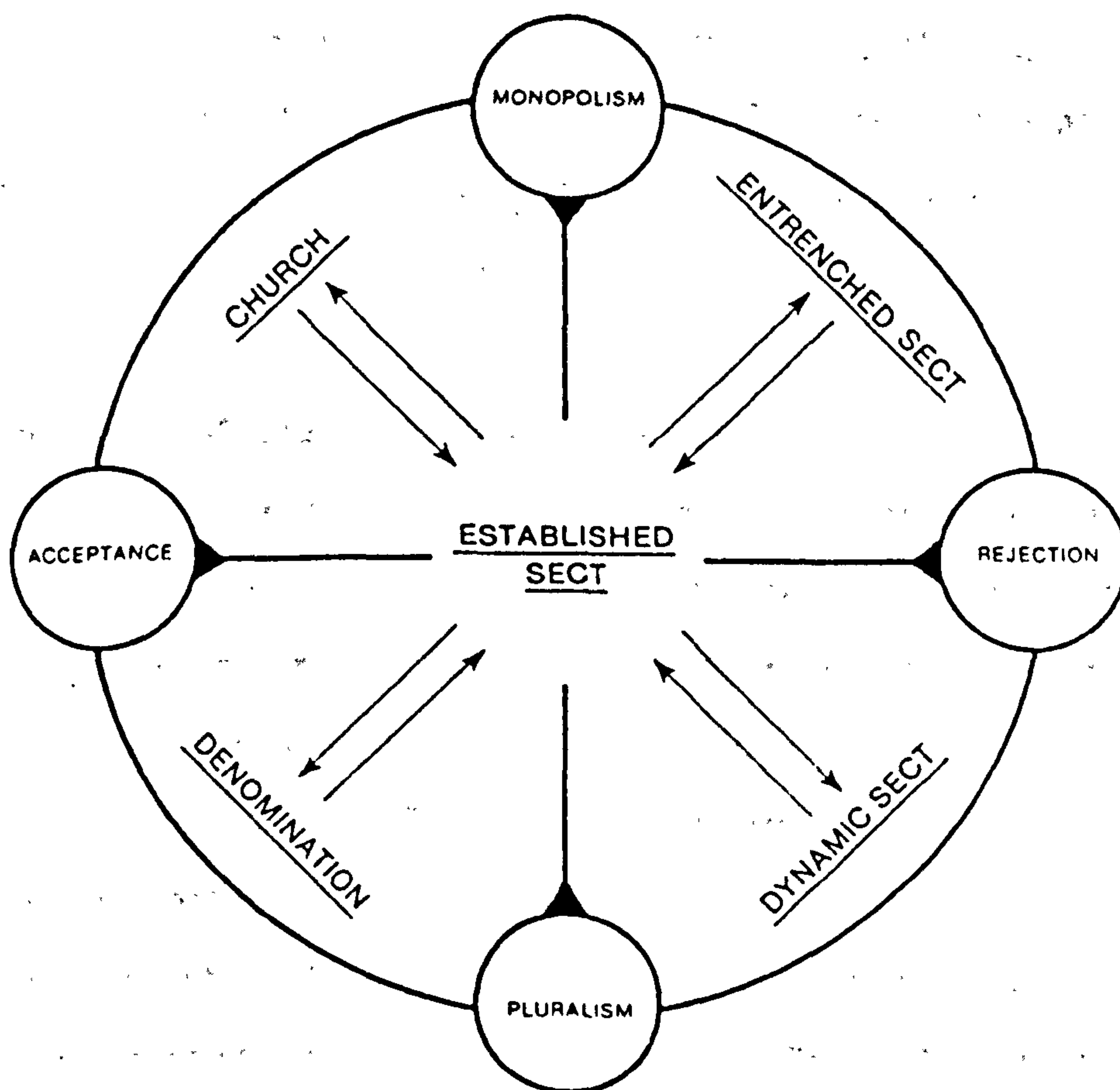
Niebuhr very clearly takes one criterion: the relationship between the Christian ethic and contemporary secular values (Niebuhr (1951) p.5 ff). Niebuhr's purpose is not, however, primarily that of sociological analysis, but rather theological discussion.

Swatos uses an historical perspective to construct a model on two axes. Swatos' purpose is an examination of the Church of England and its sister churches in Scotland and America during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. (Swatos (1979) p.vii) The axes chosen by him are "Monopolism - Pluralism" and "Acceptance - Rejection" (op.cit. p.8 ff). The former of these axes is to do with whether "one single system of meanings and values"

pervades and controls society, or whether there are competing religious groups in the society, none of which is completely dominant (op.cit. p.9). The second axis is between a religious group's acceptance or rejection of contemporary secular values. As is seen from diagram 2:4 below, Swatos combines these two intersecting axes to produce five types: "church", "denomination", "entrenched sect", "dynamic sect" and "established sect".

Diagram 2:4

THE MONOPOLISM—PLURALISM—ACCEPTANCE—REJECTION TYPOLOGY



Swatos' model resembles Hill's model (shown above as diagram 2:4 - Hill (1979) p.10)

Swatos is only really convincing in the historical situation which he is directly addressing and his model is not as helpful in understanding varieties of religious groups where, as in a modern pluralistic society, monopolism is no kind of possibility.

The power of both Hill's and Swatos' work is in their clarity about criteria upon which their models are constructed. This is fundamental to the construction of a sociological model. Without clear criteria, supposed models degenerate into simple description. Thus, within this present work, I will attempt to establish criteria before beginning to classify different kinds of local Anglican Churches.

(e) Movement of Churches between types

Swatos' model is clearly dynamic: it accommodates the movement of groups from one position to another, and allows for changes in the historical environment of the groups. Religious groups and organisations are not static, they change as a result of internal factors and in responses to changes in wider society. The question thus arises as to whether or not, in some models, one type of religious group is simply an underdeveloped form of another type, rather than a quite different type: Are they stages on the same path or points on quite different paths? Troeltsch is clear that 'sect' is not an underdeveloped 'church', it is an independent sociological type. (Troeltsch (1981) p.338)

Niebuhr, however, sees sects as first generation religious groups. (Niebuhr (1929) p.19) When children of members are 'born into' membership, the sect then becomes a 'denomination'; the latter has less rigorous membership requirements, a reduced tension with the secular world, and it accepts other religious groups as legitimate. Wilson argues that a sect need not become a denomination, particularly if its membership is replenished from adults from dislocated social groups rather than from offspring of existing members. (Wilson (1966) p.205); (Wilson (1970) p.233 ff)

Another way to understand church, sect and denomination is to see 'denomination' as a halfway stage between church and sect. Wilson again rejects this. He describes the development of religious groups as follows: firstly, sect as a protest against some status quo; then church, as the religious group gains near monopoly in society; finally denomination, with the society becoming more secularised and pluralistic. (Wilson (1966) p.220)

In his discussion of Halevy's writings, Hill describes the genesis of Methodism as an enthusiastic group within the established church. (Hill (1974) p.406 f). (37) The pattern of change of the religious groups is, in this instance, described by Hill as follows: the enthusiastic group within 'church' is pushed into a sectarian position; this new 'sect' begins to act as a focus for the merging of several sectarian groups; this eventually leads to an amalgam of sects which become a 'denomination'. Gilbert analyses the development of Methodism and other strands of English non-conformity in a slightly different way. (Gilbert (1980) p.111 f) He writes of "internal secularisation" (38), with distinctive disciplines becoming routinised. This seems to describe the gradual decline of the 'sect' through 'denomination' to a secularised 'leisure-time pursuit' or

religious hobby (op.cit. p.113)

Beyond the fairly obvious problem caused by writers giving different meanings to the same word, especially 'sect', this discussion has illustrated the many ways by which changes in the form of religious groups might be understood. This variety stems, not only from differences of judgement between writers, but also from the variety of processes at work.

These are:

- (i) changes in political environment (Swatos)
- (ii) movement of populations (Swatos)
- (iii) second generation membership (Niebuhr)
- (iv) recruitment of individuals from alienated groups in society (Wilson)
- (v) effect of routinisation on groups based on religious protest (Wilson)
- (vi) the interplay between zealous religious groups, groups of religious protest and disaffected sections of secular society (Hill & Halevy)
- (vii) a loss of religious enthusiasm (Gilbert)

Other perspectives could be added to these, e.g. technological changes, economic factors and responses to natural disasters.

The conclusion must be that a complex variety of internal and external factors leads to changes in the sociological form of a religious group. This means that predictive models will be unreliable. For example, the general question "Which comes first, church or sect?" is meaningless. It may, in one instance, be possible to say that one religious group developed from sect to church or vice versa. It may also be possible to identify principal factors involved in their development, but generalisations about

what happens to all churches or all sects are likely to be tendentious.

In constructing models of religious groups, care must be taken to recognise shifts between types. A model which fixed different groups as always of one type (e.g. English Methodist Churches as sectarian protest groups) is, at best, likely to be useful only in a limited historical situation. On the other hand, models which predict movement between types (e.g. a sect always develops into a denomination) may also be limited to particular circumstances. Other circumstances will mean that other social processes predominate (e.g. accretion of new members from disaffected groups in society rather than new members being predominantly children of existing members) and the consequences will vary (e.g. the group remains a sect, or even becomes more sectarian).

The conclusion is that models of religious groups must recognise that movement takes place, but models predicting the nature of the movement should be treated with caution. (39)

(f) Summary of conclusions from the discussion of the Church-Sect Model

The aim of the first part of this chapter was to survey the landscape into which this study is set; namely, to gain some impression of the variety of classifications, typologies and models of religious groups. The discussion of the church-sect model, however, raised a number of issues which are of particular significance in this present work; the following four in particular:-

(i) CHURCH. The ideal type of the 'church' is the religious group with inclusive membership, no distinction between its ethic and that of the wider

society, organised in an entirely institutional and impersonal way, and understanding divine revelation as remote. 'Ideal types' do not, of course, ever exist in their perfect form, they are ideals towards which realities tend. The ideal of 'the church' is not even a logical possibility in pluralistic secular society. Yet churches, such as the Church of England, derive from that which approximated to the ideal church. As demanded by Hinings and Foster (op.cit. p.2) more work is required to understand those religious groups at the 'church end' of the church-sect model. This is part of the object of this study.

(ii) SECT AND SEPARATENESS. The most convincing definition of 'sect' is that by Wilson, who uses the term to refer to "all religious movements that emphasise their separateness and distinctiveness of mission" (Wilson (1970) p.16). Sectarian religion is about 'separateness'. We shall, later in this study, be using the word 'sacred' to describe the particular kind of 'separateness' which determines the nature of some local Church of England churches. Looking for this 'separateness' will help us determine whether or not it will be appropriate to use the term 'sect' in relation to local churches examined in the study.

(iii) CRITERIA. In discussing variants of the church-sect model, it became very apparent that effective modelling relies on the clarity of the criteria upon which a model is based. Models are analytical and not just descriptive, and analysis requires, if not ordinal scales of measurement, at least explicit and defined criteria. An effort will be made in this study to define and justify the criteria to be used in the construction of a model, whilst also seeking to construct a model which does make sense of observable phenomena.

(iv) MOVEMENT. It has been made clear that religious groups are dynamic rather than static. This study is concerned primarily with local religious groups. These are likely to change even more than whole religious movements. Within the larger religious movement fluctuations and changes in individual groups are 'averaged' down to general trends, and changes thereby modified. For the local group, individual pressures and circumstances are added to overall trends, and changes are likely to be more apparent, except when the local change and the overall trends cancel each other out.

Thus it is unlikely to be possible to devise a model which entirely accounts for all changes in local religious groups. It will, however, be essential that any model allows for change in the local group and for that shift to be observed, although not predicted.

4. Models of Leadership

Much of the data in this research is collected from the leaders of the local church. It is, therefore, appropriate to look briefly at models of leadership of religious groups so as to prepare the ground for relating later discussion to classic understandings of this subject.

Weber has written extensively on the leadership of religious groups. Fundamental to his work is the concept of 'charisma': the quality of personality which sets the leader apart. (40)

Weber's investigative technique of successively splitting types and creating two or more sub-categories which are contrasted with each other often to be sub-divided again, produces a complex array of different kinds of religious

leaders. Amongst Weber's more basic types are the 'ethical' and the 'exemplary' prophets and the 'mystagogue'. The ethical prophet preaches "as one who has received a commission from god, he demands obedience as an ethical duty" (Weber op.cit. p.55). Weber cites Zoroaster and Muhammed as examples of this kind of prophet. The exemplary prophet, "by his personal example, demonstrates to others the way of religious salvation, as in the case of the Buddha". (op.cit. p.55) Exemplary prophecy tends to produce 'elitist' religious movements, whereas ethical prophecy is associated with the formation of the firmly organised 'church' (Parsons in Weber (1964 edn.) p.xxxvii). The mystagogue, whose source of authority is in magical powers, differs from "the average magician" in that he establishes a congregation around himself. (Weber op.cit. p.54) The Christian priest whose principal role and authority is to administer the sacraments seems clearly to fall within Weber's concept of the mystagogue.

In contrast to Weber, Van Vleck looks at leadership within the Christian church and distinguishes three types: priestly, individualistic and democratic. (Van Vleck (1937) p.113) The priest is the mediator between God and man, and gains his legitimacy from this. This type of leadership is seen most clearly in the Roman Catholic and Orthodox churches. The individualistic leader, typical of protestant churches, stresses personal experience; his own authority derives from his personal experience of God. Joseph Smith, of the Mormon Church, would be a classic example of this kind of leader. The democratic leader has authority from the congregation whom he serves: he is in some way elected to leadership. This principle is clearly preserved in churches such as British Baptist and United Reformed Churches in which votes are taken before a new minister is invited. Democratic leadership may be exercised corporately by a group of elders or

deacons elected from within the congregation. It is clear that each of these types of leadership is closely associated with a particular understanding of the church and its organisation.

Stark and Rudge each produce examples of different ways of looking at leadership in religious groups. Stark distinguishes between "founder" and "second", "saint" and "priest" and "monk" and "predicant". (Stark (1969) vol.IV) (41) Rudge's typology of religious organisations already mentioned (section 2d above) embodies understandings of leadership drawn from management theory (Rudge (1968) p.21 et.seq.)

Neither of these analyses of leadership is especially helpful for us. Stark seems preoccupied with discovering some sociological content to titles used within the Roman Catholic Church. Rudge's primary concern is applying insights of management theory, rather than understanding what exists within religious groups.

Thus, for the purposes of this study, Weber's and Van Vleck's analyses are combined to produce a simple typology of leadership of religious groups.

This is fourfold:-

- I Priestly (mystagogue): concerned with religious ceremony;
- II Exemplary (exemplary prophet): following revealed path of truth;
- III Prophetic (ethical prophet): charged with bringing others to truth;
- IV Democratic (egalitarian leader): leading as representative of local religious group.

We use this typology later in order to see if it helps our understanding of the local churches which we are investigating.

Chapter 2 - Notes

1. Strong, Lloyd and Allen identify eight ways of being religious:
 - (i) rebirth, through personal encounter with the Holy.
 - (ii) creation of community through myth and ritual.
 - (iii) living harmoniously through conforming to the cosmic law.
 - (iv) spiritual freedom through discipline (mysticism).
 - (v) attaining an integrated self through creative interaction.
 - (vi) achievement of human rights through political and economic action.
 - (vii) the new life available through technocracy.
 - (viii) enjoyment of life to the full through sensuous experience.(Strong et al (1973)).
2. See section 2(c)(i) (page 16) below for five dimensions of religion identified by Glock and Stark.
3. According to Slater the re-interpretation of any particular tradition is as inevitable as the continual re-interpretation of the Constitution of the United States by the Supreme Court. (Slater op.cit. p.69f)
4. Mehl describes primary concerns of traditions as follows:
Orthodox, celebrating liturgy; Catholic, continuity of hierarchy;
Protestant, preaching and scripture. (Mehl (1970) p.24)
5. Von Hugel (quoted by Beeson 1973) p.19f) divides traditions between "institutional", "intellectual" and "mystical", the latter being divided between "sacramentalists" and "evangelicals".
6. Walker argues that the church is best understood by reference to three schisms. The first is the divide between the Eastern and Western churches in the eleventh century. The second is the Protestant Reformation. The third schism is the modern divide between orthodox belief and practice and a rejection of orthodoxy by liberal/radical

- Christians. (Walker (1986) pp.202-217)
7. Minear's 'images' are "the people of God", "the new creation", "the fellowship of faith" and "the Body of Christ".
 8. Slater identifies strands of Christian church persisting from three periods: Hebraic, Redemptive and Humanitarian (titles mine) (Slater (1979) pp.86-91)
 9. 'Kerygmatic' is proclaiming the Gospel; 'Diakonic' is service of others and 'Kiononiac' is fellowship of the faithful.
 10. Describing the passive/active dichotomy, Stark writes, "It was Calvin who, not in so many words, but in fact and in truth, set the busy Martha above the contemplative Mary, and thereby reversed the order of religious values which held sway from Gospel days to the doom of the Middle Ages." (Stark (1972) p.397)
 11. See Budd (1973) p.64 and p.37 for further contrasts between Weber's and Durkheim's understanding of religion.
 12. Reed's oscillation process is described in ways that seems to combine both Durkheimian (Reed (1978) p.52) and Weberian (op.cit. p.50) concepts of the function of religion.
 13. (i) Rebirth through personal encounter with the Holy.
(ii) Creation of community through myth and ritual.
(iii) Living harmoniously through conforming to the cosmic law.
(iv) Spiritual freedom through discipline (mysticism).
(v) Attaining an integrated self through creative interaction with others.
(vi) Achievement of human rights through political and economic action.
(vii) The new life achieved through technocracy.
(viii) Enjoyment of life to the full through sensuous experience.
 14. Edwards produces an analysis very similar to Winter's. In considering

the characteristics of adherents to an "assembled church", Edwards lists the following (Edwards (1978) p.228):-

- (i) Assemble for "religious purposes".
- (ii) Contain significant proportion of "dependent" individuals.
- (iii) Have allegiance transcending class, race and nation.
- (iv) Espouse and support "causes" in practical and self-sacrificing ways.

15. Towler analyses letters written in response to Dr J A T Robinson's book "Honest to God". (Towler (1985) p.12) He constructed a typology of "conventional" religion as follows: Exemplarism; Conversionism; Theism; Gnosticism and Traditionalism. There is a good deal of correspondence between Towler's model and Von Hugel's "institutionalism" (cf. Traditionalism), "intellectual" (cf. Gnosticism), "mystical" (cf. Theism), "sacramentalist" and "evangelical" (cf. Conversionism) model. See note 5 above.

16. See Durkheim (1976 edn.) p.428.

17. There is a similar duality implied in Swatos' emphasis on the shift between Weber and Troeltsch from organisation to behaviour. Swatos' analysis is, however, not sufficiently lucid for us to be clear exactly what he means by "organisation". (Swatos (1979) p.3)

18. Webster quotes Winter (Winter (1979) p.44) in insisting that no dynamic or ideal will normally benefit society until it has found an appropriate structural form. (Webster (1979) p.76)

19. A model based on the organisational form taken by religious protest is suggested by Wach. Three types of groups are distinguished: "collegium pletas", "fraternitas" and "order". (Wach (1944) p.75 and p.182)

20. Rudge draws parallels between his typology and those of Niebuhr (Niebuhr (1951) pp.40-45) (Rudge (1968) pp.47-50) and Minear (see note

7 above) (op.cit. p.21 et.seq.)

21. Perman (1977) p.219: "new puritanism" against "new morality"; Haddon (1966) p.248f: "theologically conservative" against "theologically liberal"; and Allon-Smith and Crouch (1979) p.16: "spiritual body" against "activist body".
22. Part of the problem in identifying later expressions of the church-sect model with the form of the model created by Troeltsch is that Troeltsch develops his model from an historical analysis. Contemporary writers are, however, generally concerned with either purely contemporary analysis, or at most an historical perspective of less than 200 years. Troeltsch's contrasting style is illustrated by the way in which he traces the sectarian phenomenon through the Gregorian Reforms. (Troeltsch (1981) p.349 ff)
23. Coxon considers the idea that the 'sect' embodies the radical impulses of Christianity over against the traditional 'church' but draws attention to the difficulties of this viewpoint. Sects may equally well stand in conservative positions against a progressive religious institution, as in radical positions against a conservative one. (Coxon (1986) p.236f)
24. Points of contrast between 'church' and 'sect':-

<u>Sect</u>	<u>Church</u>
(i) Members property less.	Members property owners.
(ii) Economic poverty of organisation.	Wealth of organisation.
(iii) On cultural periphery of community.	At cultural centre of community.

(iv) Renunciation of, or indifference to, prevailing culture.	Affirmation of prevailing culture.
(v) Personal religion.	Institutional religion.
(vi) Non co-operation with established religion.	Co-operation with established religion.
(vii) Suspicion of rival sects.	Disdain for all sects.
(viii) Moral community excluding the unworthy.	Social community accepting all who are socially compatible.
(ix) Unprofessionalised and part-time ministry.	Professional full-time ministry.
(x) A psychology of persecution.	A psychology of success and dominance.
(xi) Voluntary confessional membership.	Ritualised membership.
(xii) Predominantly concerned with adult members.	Concerned with children and adults.
(xiii) Emphasis on evangelism and conversion.	Emphasis on religious education.
(xiv) Emphasis on death and the next world.	Emphasis on life and this world.
(xv) Strict biblical standards (e.g. tithing).	General cultural standards.
(xvi) High degree of congregational participation in worship.	Responsibility for worship delegated to a small minority.
(xvii) Fervour and activity in worship.	Passivity in worship.
(xviii) Comparatively large number of religious services.	Regular and fixed patterns of religious services.

(xix) Reliance on spontaneity in Fixed orders of service and
worship and administration. administrative procedures.

(xx) Hymns derived from folk music. Hymns derived from remote
religious tradition.

(xxi) Emphasis on religion at home. Delegation of responsibility
for religion to church
officers.

(Pope (1942))

See also 19 characteristics of Sectarian groups in Coser (1974)
pp.104-113.

25. See Habgood (1983) p.183f.

26. See Niebuhr (1956) pp.1-11.

27. See Wilson (1970) p.7.

28. See Coser (1974) p.103.

29. See Wilson (1966) p.180f; although Wilson does not regard
organisational nature of group as the key to identifying the sect
(op.cit. p.184f).

30. See Swatos (1979) p.9.

31. See Troeltsch (1981) p.331f.

32. A further defining feature of the church-sect model could be considered
to be the degree of protest felt by the religious group against
prevailing religious environment (see note 17 above). This does,
however, seem to be largely contained in the questions of compromise
and legitimacy.

33. See Osgood and Tannenbaum (1955) pp.42-55 who argue that judgemental
frames of reference tend towards maximal simplicity and polarisation of
concepts.

34. Wilson also adds "ritualist" to one of his lists of varieties of sects and refers to Anson (1964) for further description (Wilson (1966) p.196).
35. Stark, within his wider classification of types of religious groups, classifies sects into "progressive" and "regressive". (Stark (1967) p.174)
36. See Chapter IV, section 2(b) (page 86) for the definition of 'sacred' used herein.
37. See Halevy (1924) p.339.
38. Gilbert uses the word 'secularisation' in a particular way and as involving a loss of religious zeal. See the discussion on secularisation in Chapter III (pages 57-61) of this study.
39. Smith draws clear distinctions between different kinds of models (holistic vs. partial, macro vs. micro, static vs. dynamic, deterministic vs. probabilistic, and simultaneous vs. sequential) (Smith (1975) p.259f) I am clearly advocating a dynamic rather than static model in his terms. I prefer the dichotomy 'predictive vs. descriptive' to Smith's 'deterministic vs. probabilistic' since I am concerned more with changes over time than analysis of cause and effect.
40. Weber defines charisma as: "a certain quality of individual personality by virtue of which he is set apart from ordinary men and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman, or at least specifically exceptional powers or qualities". (Weber (1947) p.358) Charisma is more than a human talent, for Weber writes of it as a power that can inhere in an object as well as a person. It can be "primary", that is naturally found in the object or person, or an acquired charisma "produced artificially in an object or person by some extraordinary

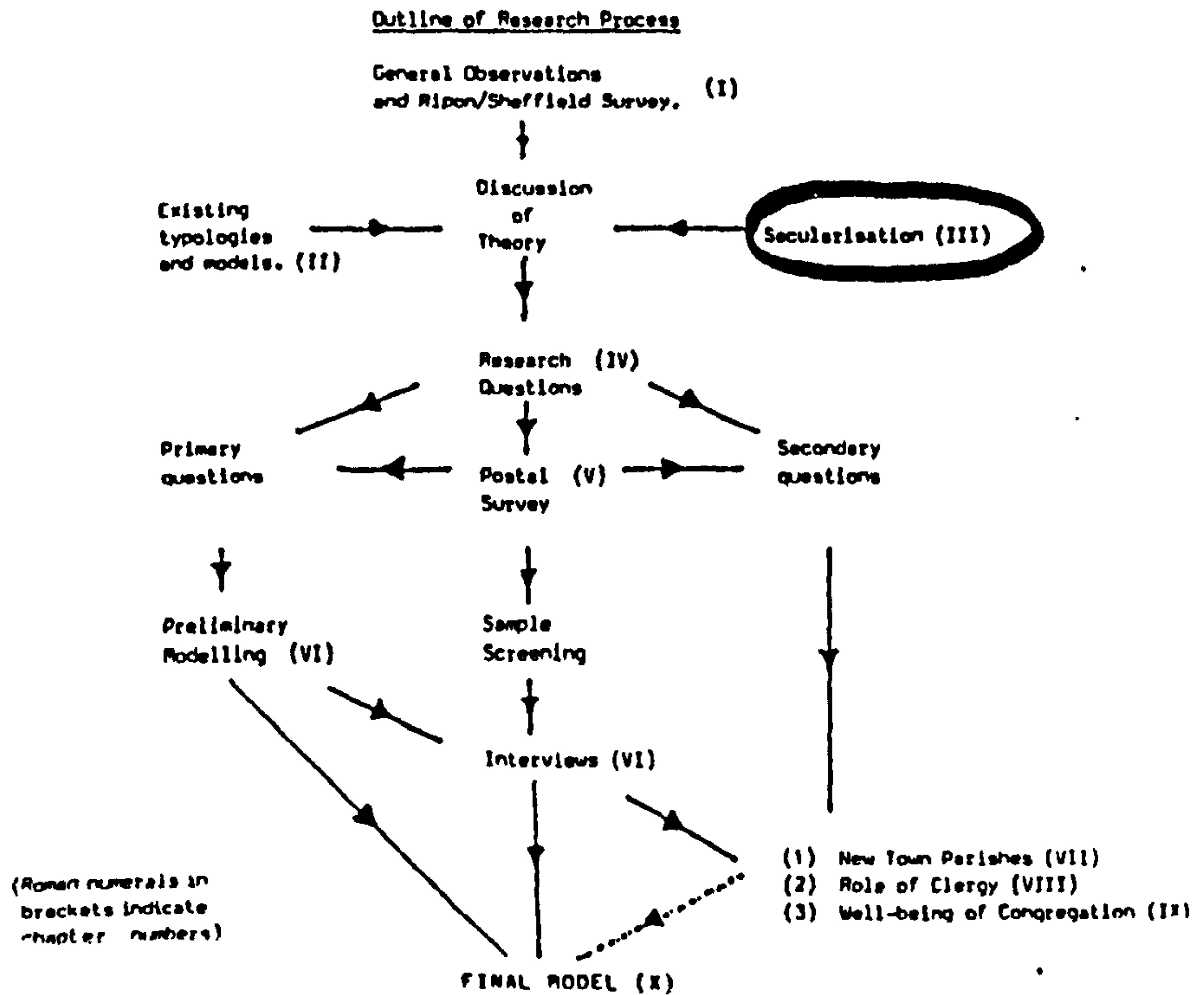
means". (Weber (1964 edn.) p.2) this charisma is the source of religious leadership.

41. The distinction between founder and second is between the person who founds the religious group and those who succeed him as its leader. The saint has some special gifts within himself which are the basis of his authority, whereas the priest is the mediator between God and man. The monk lives out his ministry within the religious community, unlike the predicant who travels to teach and to preach to those outside the community of faith.

Chapter Three

SECULARISATION DETERMINING THE AGENDA OF THE LOCAL CHURCH

Diagram 3:1



III SECULARISATION DETERMINING THE AGENDA OF THE LOCAL CHURCH

1. Introduction

In this chapter we shall examine how secularisation has set the religious institutions apart from the centre of influence in modern western society. This has been a complex process, with its roots well back in the history of the church itself, and has not just been something forced upon the church from the outside. It is a process which has accelerated rapidly during, and since, the Industrial Revolution.

An increase in irreligiosity by individuals and desacralisation in society have both accompanied secularisation. The two major elements of the process itself are, however, the marginalising of the institution of the church and the loss of power of the religious conceptual framework. It is the marginalising of the religious institution which will be most significant for us.

All this has differentiated the church out as a special religious institution.

We will thus need to define what we mean by religion, in order to be clear about the nature of this specialism. At a local level, the church must work out its role as a specialist institution; how this is happening is a major element in this present study.

2. The Development of Secularisation

We are not primarily concerned with historical analysis, but we shall look very quickly at how, historically, secularisation has developed. To be

simplistic, the time was when, in Western Europe and England in particular, religion clearly influenced every social institution. In this stereotyped view of the past the religious institution, the church, had its representatives in most other institutions and had great influence in all centres of power. Now none of that is the case: religion and religious institutions have lost influence at every level of society.

This simplistic description masks the complexity of the process of secularisation. The process has not just been linear (1) and has had its roots deep in the history of Western society: it has been bound up with the political, cultural and economic developments in society. (2) Furthermore, as we shall note, the religious community itself seems to have pushed the process forwards.

(a) The seeds of the process

From the time when religion seemed to be, in part, a way of trying to increase the effectiveness of primitive technology, something like secularisation appeared inevitable. The more primitive the technology, then the more precarious was life and the more religion was "used to boost man's own efforts" (Yinger (1957) p.139). As technology increases in effectiveness so religion becomes less necessary to manipulate the physical world. Thus secularisation appears both inevitable and irreversible (Berger (1967) p.3ff). (3) (4)

Transcendental monotheism provided for the possibility of secularisation. A world populated by a variety of gods and spirits, in which nothing was secular, gave way to a world in which sacred and secular could be distinguished. This was made possible by the idea of one God who had an

existence separate from the physical world. (5) Many take this argument further and say that it is Christianity, in particular, which has led to secularisation as it "relativises and undermines the whole structure of holy laws, holy priesthoods, holy places and holy lands" (Martin (1980) p.24).

(6) Habgood sees a clear building up of conditions for secularisation through Old Testament Judaism, early Christianity, the Reformation and modern Christian theology (Habgood (1983) p.27f).

Secularisation accelerated during the Renaissance and Reformation periods. Scientists and political philosophers of the Renaissance asserted their freedom from the monopoly of religious modes of thought. (7) (8) The Reformation led to a breakdown of the absolute authority of the Church of Rome in Western Europe and to a new religious pluralism. (9) This religious movement was as central to laying the basis for modern secularisation as was the secular Renaissance. (10) (11)

The Puritan movement is seen by many as a prime example of a religious movement playing a crucial role in the secularisation process. (12) Those concerned with historical analysis identify a number of closely related factors as important: the rejection of religious ritual and ceremony (13); God's call being experienced as a secular calling (14); the perception of material success as a sign of God's favour (15) (16); the rise of individualism (17) and human activities which were understood in terms of this-worldly goals (18). These are some of the issues involved in an attempt to understand the relationship between Calvinism and the emergence of capitalism, but for us their significance is in their being part of the secularising influence of Puritanism. (19)

The scientific optimism of the nineteenth century forms the next major chapter in the story of secularisation and gave birth to modern humanism. Auguste Comte, following the Marquis de Condorcet and Count de Saint Simon, saw history as progressive. The idea that man was becoming more enlightened flourished. A positivist philosophy developed based on man's liberation from religious unreason to rationalistic reason. Religion is no longer needed to supplement an ineffective primitive technology. (20) In parallel to this is a perception of social history being freed from the constraints of religion. (21) (22) Whether or not civilization is progressive is not the issue here (23), it is the emergence of the idea of science having displaced religion which is important (24). Durkheim saw science replacing religion as the binding force of society (Durkheim (1976) p.429f). When scientific reasoning has an autonomous validity, it becomes possible to subject religion itself to scientific investigation. Hence critical theology emerged in the nineteenth and twentieth century church. With this, conditions are right for secularisation to develop as it has during modern times.

(b) Urbanisation and metropolisation

Gilbert describes the Industrial Revolution as the greatest discontinuity in history since the Neolithic Revolution (Gilbert (1980) p.43). (25)

'Industrial Revolution', when used in this way, refers not only to changes in manufacturing industries, but to a whole collection of economic and social developments. Gilbert lists eight features of 'modernity':-

- Increased economic productivity

- Growth and application of knowledge and technical skill

- Sophisticated education outside of the family

- Urbanisation

Pluralistic systems of social stratification

Increased personal mobility and mass communications

Bureaucratisation

Differentiation between work and leisure

(Gilbert (1980) p.45) (26)

Fundamental to the changes experienced by modern society has been the movement of population, first to towns (urbanisation) and then to vast conurbations (metropolisation). Accompanying these movements of population have been four interrelated social processes which are critically important in understanding secularisation: social differentiation; change from community to association; pluralism in religion and privatisation of religion.

(1) Social differentiation

As means of production grow more complicated and larger settlements require more sophisticated administration, social roles become differentiated. Work and leisure become more clearly separated and there is an explosion in the variety of trades and professions.

Many of the specialist roles and institutions which emerge are carved out from the former spheres of influence of the church. The parish priest is no longer teacher, social worker, probation officer and instrument of local government. These have all become specialist roles in their own right. The religious institution and its personnel become 'specialist' themselves: specialist in 'religion'.

(ii) Change from community to association

As large populations are concentrated in smaller areas human relationships become increasingly impersonal. (27) Primary face-to-face relationships are replaced by secondary relationships based on stereotyped roles. Individuals are seen in terms of their own specific job or role. The change from personal to impersonal society is described as a shift from society based on 'community' to society based on 'association'. (28) 'Community' is a closely knit society where the whole is more important than the parts. 'Association' is a loosely knit society with a greatly reduced sense of corporate identity. Stark writes:-

"The mind formed in the matrix of Community is referred back to the origin of things: as it travels back up the ladder of descent, from father to grandfather, to forefather and to primal progenitor, it finds itself ultimately up against mystery, against root problems of all religion - where do I come from? what is the meaning of our existence?" (Stark (1972) p.5)

Stark contrasts this naturally religious society with the anonymous associational society. In the latter questions of personal identity and extinction become more acute, and the corporate understanding of belonging is less significant. If Stark's analysis were correct, the primary function of religion might be thought of as shifting from a Durkheimian (community building) mode to a Weberian (personal search for meaning) mode. (29) (30)

(iii) Pluralism

As metropolisation displaces urbanisation it is not only people from different villages who must live and work alongside each other, it is people from different countries and different continents. The effect of physical mobility is enhanced by mass communications. People of different cultures

and religions become familiar to each other. The pluralism created by the fragmentation of Christianity at the Reformation is massively increased.

In this kind of society religious tolerance is the only way to avoid open conflict between different religious groups. Habgood argues that this tolerant pluralism, in which a variety of religious groups are regarded as legitimate, becomes itself part of the consensus which holds society together. (Habgood (1983) p.35f) Perhaps Habgood's word "holds" is too active a verb: tolerant pluralism 'allows' society to remain intact. A coherent "secular cosmos" is precluded by pluralism and relativism, according to Williams. The "sacred canopy", providing a common ethic for society, collapses and official models of religion have no credibility (Williams (1975) p.20).

The religious pluralism within Christianity following the Reformation weakened the position of Christianity in the long term. (31) (32) (33) The far higher level of pluralism resulting from metropolisation prevents any religion having an assumed and unchallenged place as the religion for all within any western society.

(iv) Privatised Religion (34)

In a pluralistic associational society, religion shifts from the centre of corporate life: it becomes a private affair. Any individual is free to choose any religion from a range of options available, or to choose none. Budd writes: "in a privatised life Durkheimian religion has no place; Weberian religion has no claim on those who never had it so good". (Budd (1973) p.114) Budd is clearly correct about the fate of Durkheimian religion. It is not so clear that she is correct about the demise of

Weberian religion. Where corporate identities no longer provide a meaning for individuals, questions of personal identity and the meaning of life may well become more acute (see Section 2(b) (ii) above, page 55).

3. Secularisation and Associated Concepts

It is important to be clear about the different aspects of what is sometimes lumped together and called 'secularisation'. The changes described above have effects at three levels: on the religious practices of individuals; on society in general; and on the institution of the church. Three different words could be used to describe these three effects: 'Irreligiosity', 'desacralisation' and 'secularisation'. (35)

(a) Irreligiosity

How much the individual has a need of religion is open to dispute. Many argue strongly that this need is absolute. (36 to 42) If these religious needs are always present, they may not always be met by institutional religion. (43) In briefly considering the function of religion above (Chapter 2, Section 2(c)(i) page 16) it was apparent that much of what writers had seen as its function was related to the needs of individuals. Already in this Chapter (Sections 2(b)(ii) (page 55) and 2(b)(iv) (page 56)) we have noted the different views of Budd and Stark on the lessening or heightening of contemporary man's search for meaning. Whatever these basic needs are, the level of formal religious observance by individuals can vary from one society, or one age, to another.

In Chapter Nine we shall look at levels of church attendance and membership in more detail. We now make the point that any decline in religious observance by individuals is a distinct element in the changes undergone in

contemporary society. Acquaviva uses the term 'irreligiosity' to describe what he sees as a decline in religious observance (Acquaviva (1979) p.136). He applies this term generally to a decline in church membership and attendances. He also relates it largely to the development of an urban life-style. Thus irreligiosity is the effect of secularisation on individuals.

(b) Desacralisation

Even when examining individualism, Durkheim concludes that religion is about corporate not individual life. (Durkheim (1976) p.425) (44) The need for social cohesion, met by religion in some societies, is of primary concern to Durkheim and others. (45) (46) (47) It is patently not the case that secularisation has led to anarchy resulting from the complete loss of social cohesion. Secularisation has, however, had a major effect on society as well as on individuals. At its centre, this effect means that what was once regarded as 'sacred' (set apart from mundane control) is no longer regarded as 'sacred'. This removal of religious constraints is referred to here by the term 'desacralisation'. (48) Although Acquaviva's definition of the term is unsatisfactory, because of its confusing sociological and psychological concepts, his use of the term is helpful. (49) He lists eight factors which are associated with desacralisation:

- (1) Weakening of social control associated with change from extended to nuclear family.
- (2) Rising political frustrations of formerly powerless social groups.
- (3) Increase of hedonism.
- (4) Increase of critical acumen.
- (5) Change in perception of the distribution of time in everyday life.
- (6) Increase in acquisitiveness.

(7) Increase in female employment.

(8) Increased mobility.

(Acquaviva (1979) p.136ff)

Although this list is a mixture of different changes in social behaviour, most items in the list relate to breakdown of religious norms or taboos (e.g. those concerning family life and sex roles (items 1 and 7), personal morality (item 3) and the traditional limits to individual freedom (items 2 and 4)).

From the many lists which have been devised to identify changes in society consequential on secularisation, three kinds of items appear. (50) (51)

These are:-

- (i) Matters directly associated with decline in individual religious observance (Irreligiosity);
- (ii) The consequence of items previously under religious taboo being open to question (Desacralisation);
- (iii) Matters concerning the marginalising of the religious institution itself. (52)

For the sake of clarity of analysis, the word 'desacralisation' is used to distinguish the second category of effects: viz. the results, in society, of the removal of religious constraints.

(c) Secularisation and the Church

Having looked at the possible consequences of secularisation for individual religious behaviour and for society as a whole, we examine their effect on the church. Here two major aspects can be distinguished: the marginalising

of the religious institution and the loss of power of the religious conceptual framework.

(i) The marginalised institution of the Church

In Chapter IX it will be important to draw the distinctions, made here, between what is happening to the religious practice of the individual and what is happening to the religious institution. Russell makes it clear that different things are happening. He contends that individual religious belief persists whilst the church becomes weaker and less relevant to society. (Russell (1980) p.5) At the heart of the process of secularisation is a Church moving from the centre to the edge of corporate life and concern. Winter writes of the isolation of the churches from the "moving forces of society" and their increasing powerlessness. (Winter (1963) p.6f) This is especially the case when power is separated from the ownership of land. (53) Mannheim notes that the three major effects of secularisation are: that religion is reduced to Sunday worship; religion loses its foothold in ruling groups; and there is a public mistrust of the Church's pronouncements. (Mannheim (1943) pp.101 et.seq.)

We have already mentioned the process of social differentiation (Section 2(b)(i) above, page 54), a concept originating with Herbert Spencer. (54) The Church's resultant loss of control over the institutions of education, health, social welfare etc. is very significant. (55) A proliferation of professional occupations requiring a high degree of education means that the clergy are no longer the only, or the best, educated members of most communities.

The church becomes effectively excluded from centres of influence,

especially in the increasingly important economic sphere. This means that it becomes more and more restricted to the residential sector of society: the suburban church becomes the norm. Winter writes of the churches' willingness to be confined within the domestic residential sphere (Winter (1963) p.12). This is in spite of reactions against this by Christian socialists such as B.F. Westcott and F.D. Maurice, focusing of responses to the Depression by William Temple and modern church concerns about peace, justice and human rights. For the vast majority of church members the residential is a sphere which serves to reduce tensions created in economic and political spheres of life: the busy executive comes home to relax and forget about the pressures of his professional life. As the church's membership is constituted substantially by people in their domestic and familial roles, there is pressure from within the church to keep clear of the tensions of political and economic affairs. External and internal factors thus combine to keep the Church on the edge, the domestic and privatised edge, of life. (56)

Even within this residential sector the Church no longer predominates. Bailey writes of the church being replaced by the High Street as the focal point of local life. (Bailey (1983) p.82) It is the experience of many clergy that, if vicar and doctor arrive on a doorstep together, the assumption is that the vicar must wait. Religious ministrations are perceived as less important than medical ones. Local churches are cautious about organising religious celebrations which coincide with either "parents' evening" or the fete at the local school. In the competition for allegiance, the school almost always wins: education is seen as more important than religion. Even at the local level, the Church is marginalised. (57)

(ii) The religious conceptual framework is losing its power

In this discussion the various elements are intimately connected with each other. Although distinguished for the sake of clarity, no one factor is in any way isolated. Thus the way in which the Church's world view loses its influence is simply the other side of the process of desacralisation.

One way to define secularisation is as a change of thinking in society. (58) Gilbert argues that "modern Britain has become a society preoccupied with technical skills, scientific knowledge, mundane goals and humanistic values" and thus "the Christian religion has become epiphenomenal within it" (Gilbert (1980) p.63). This is a partial and inadequate basis for a definition of secularisation; the process is about marginalisation of religious institutions as well as of religious thought forms. Yet Gilbert's point about the decline in significance of Christian concepts is well made.

It can be argued that religious explanations are always secondary attempts to interpret the physical world and resorted to only when non-religious explanations have failed. Thus secularisation would increase as the residue of the inexplicable decreases. (59)

To reduce secularisation of thought to the notion that religion is squeezed out by science is, however, inadequate. Other factors are involved, especially pluralism in religion. Once members of a society have a choice between two or more religious interpretations, then no one religion can claim to be uniquely legitimate. This leads to the relativising of religious thinking. (60)

Metz finds a further factor involved in the secularisation of thought: the

rise of an "anthropology of domination" (Metz (1981) p.34f). This involves a decline in "non-dominating human virtues such as gratitude and friendliness" as man understands himself as able to control and dominate the natural world. This is closely linked to the rise of science and technology, but it is more than this: it is a shift in thinking which is inherently anti-religious (or at least anti-Christian according to Metz).

Later in this chapter (Section 4 (b) page 65) we will consider tensions created when the religious ethic no longer forms the basis of consensus in society. (61) (62) Suffice it here to note that this tension is created, and is of considerable significance to the religious community.

The myths, as well as the ethic, of a religion lose their power as religious thinking ceases to be accepted. Cox is clear that the problem for religion is not that myths are displaced by scientific thinking, but that traditional myths no longer meet men's need and new myths are required. (Cox (1970) p.47) (63) Ricoeur argues for an interpretation of myth which takes account of the needs of secular man (Ricoeur (1967) p.351). Certainly the crisis of religious thinking has led to re-interpretation. Some theologians have spoken in terms of the "death of God" (64), others have caused much public debate by popularising contemporary theology. (65)

Fenn has drawn particular attention to the secularisation of religious language (Fenn (1982)). He notes that the basic differences between secular and religious language are: the permanence of religious language and the temporality of secular language (op.cit. p.8); that religious language effects change whereas secular language is purely descriptive (op.cit. p.97ff); and that religious language is ambiguous and imprecise whereas

secular language is unambiguous (op.cit. p.172). The dichotomy might be better expressed as between religious and technical/scientific language, but this doesn't affect the force of Fenn's argument. As scientific ways of understanding are applied to religion, religious language is secularised, in Fenn's terms, as precision of meaning is sought. Fenn's thesis is that this removes all power from religious language, and, if this were the case, it must be an important part of the loss of power of religious thought.

To summarise: religious conceptual frameworks has lost their power. The religious ethic, myth and language cease to have the significance in society which they once had.

4. Secularisation's Agenda for the Church

Having briefly traced the development of secularisation, we have identified irreligiosity, desacralisation, marginalising of the religious institution and the loss of power of the religious conceptual framework as the major components of secularisation. It is this marginalising of the institution which is of most concern to us. This study looks at the local manifestation of the institution of the Church, particularly as seen through the eyes of local leaders within the Church of England. This is a church which has ceased to approximate very closely to the ideal-type 'Church' in the Church-Sect model. This is partly due to religious pluralism, and partly due to the effect of secularisation. Thus there are four strands in the changed situation in which the church finds itself:

- (a) Not everyone belongs.
- (b) There is tension between ethic of church and ethic of world.
- (c) The church ceases to be 'basic' to society.
- (d) Religion is a separate category and the church becomes a specialist

religious institution.

We look at each of these four strands in turn.

(a) Communal and Associational membership

The major change in membership of the Church is that not everyone belongs, unlike the assumption of the stereotyped view of 'time past'. There is a major change from a society where all belong, from birth, to the established religion, to a society where individuals choose whether or not to join the religious group. These absolute cases of membership by birth and by personal individual choice are two types of church membership: communal and associational. Communal membership is based on all who live in the community automatically belonging to the church; associational membership is where individuals or families choose to associate themselves with the church. (66)

If society changes so that there is a shift away from communal membership to associational membership of the church, then the church will become aware of itself in quite a new way. How many people belong will become important. The possibility might emerge of the church becoming so small as to disappear. The distinction between communal and associational membership does not, however, lie in the numerical strength of the congregation: it lies in the two different forms of belonging. (67) (68)

(b) The religious ethic in tension with secular values

Weber makes much of the way in which the tension between the religious group and the rest of society is resolved (Weber (1964 edn.) p.209). According to Weber there are two ways of resolving the tension: one is for the religious group to withdraw from the world, and the other is for them to change the

world (Parsons in Weber (1964 edn.) p.1). The other logical alternative would be for the religious group simply to conform to the standards of the wider community. Weber, whose method concentrates on contrasting differences, passed lightly over this possibility (op.cit. p.210). This is a substantial weakness in his analysis.

Another dichotomy fundamental to Weber's work is that between asceticism and mysticism (op.cit. pp.209-212). Asceticism is the individual mastering the conditions of the world; mysticism is his becoming resigned or 'adjusted' to the conditions of the world. Both options are open to religious groups as well as individuals. Asceticism and mysticism are paths which may be followed in the world ('inner worldly') or apart from the world ('other worldly'). Thus there are four religious modes:-

Inner-worldly asceticism - trying to control all aspects of the human condition.

Inner-worldly mysticism - living 'in the world' but depriving worldly conditions of any significance.

Other-worldly asceticism - trying to control worldly motivation.

Other-worldly mysticism - avoiding 'desire' by dissociation and disinterest.

We shall return to this model later in this study.

(c) From a 'Basic' to a 'Serving' Institution

In looking at the role of the church Gilbert describes a change from 'basic' to 'serving' (Gilbert (1980) p.92). The 'basic' institution has no worries about its role in society: it is part of what determines the nature of society. When the religious institution loses this role it has a whole new agenda through which it must work. The place of the church in society is

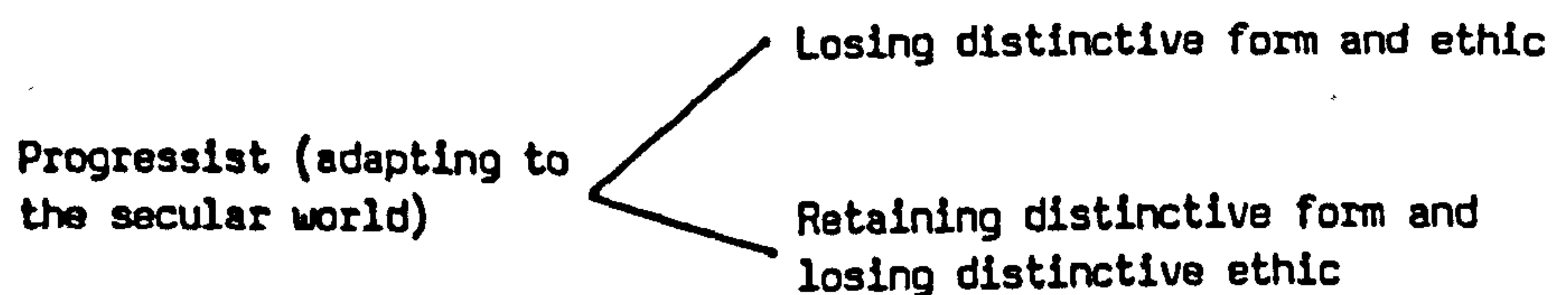
much less secure. It must rely on strength of membership for survival; this means that recruitment becomes an issue for the first time. It can be ignored by the rest of society, unless it finds a way of establishing its influence. It competes with other institutions for members and for influence. A 'basic' church's membership is communal and although the religious ethic may be distinctive, its values form part, maybe the determining part, of the accepted values of the whole community. A 'serving' church needs to preserve the integrity of its own ethic in the lives of its associational members. The question arises as to whether or not it is going to promote this ethic in the wider society.

Drawing the distinction between 'basic' and 'serving' institutions leads on to a further question about how the church 'serves'. Mehl identifies the simple dichotomy between 'progressism' and 'integrism', each of these types having two options (Mehl (1979) p.71ff). (69) (70) A model representing the possibilities for the religious institution is set out in Diagram 3:2 below.

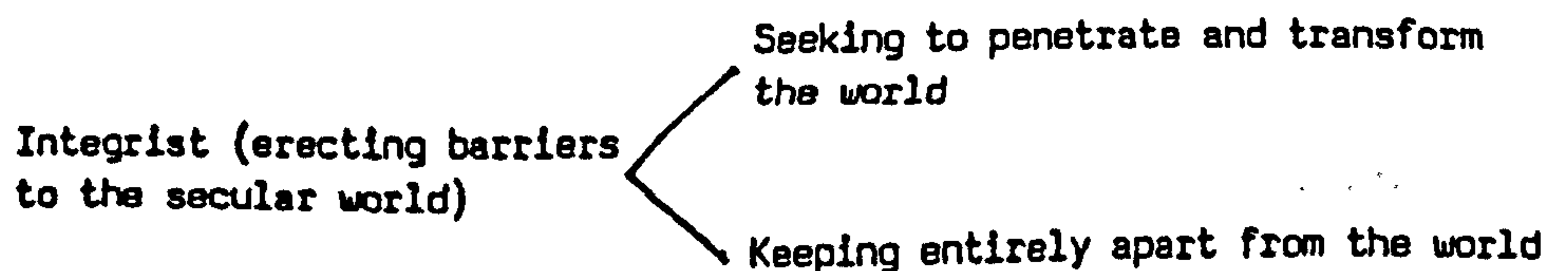
Diagram 3:2

Options for the Religious Institution in Society

I Basic



II Serving



(d) Religion as a separate category

Amongst the effects of secularisation, the most significant is that religion becomes a category separate from other aspects of life. (71) Three pressures can be distinguished which have led to the church becoming a specialist religious institution. The first is, as disclosed above (Section 2(b)(i) page 54), the differentiating out into other institutions and professions of the tasks and responsibilities which were once in the sphere of religion. This leaves the church with those strictly religious issues which are left over. (72 (73) (74)

The second pressure is that the Church itself is affected by a movement towards 'specialisation'. Other disciplines set up their own protected territories of concern, and so does the church. Hence it can actually discard matters perceived as being someone else's concern, whilst defending its prerogative over things religious. (75)

Thirdly, the clergy in particular can respond to uncertainty about their role by emphasising their "irreducible function, capable of extension and elaboration, and the real professional expertise of the priest" (Wilson (1966) p.74f). This is mostly ritual activity in public worship. Russell identifies four consequences of these changes both in society and in the clergy's own perceptions: "increased concentration on defining the function of the role; the contraction of the range of functions; the decline of community orientated functions; and the increased significance of administration". (Russell (1980) p.274) All this leads the priest, like other professionals, to concentrate on the 'irreducible core of his role': in his case leading public worship and celebrating the sacraments.

(e) Definition of Religion

Having asserted that religion has become a category of life clearly separated out, and that the Church has become an institution 'specialising in religion', we must make clear what we intend by the word 'religion'.

Budd identifies two ways in which religion may be defined: "either in the way that each society or its religious institution itself has defined it (the basis of the Weberian school) or in the way it makes accord with the general theory of the role it plays in society (the basis of the Durkheimian school)". (Budd (1973) p.83) It is more helpful to use the words 'substantive' and 'functional' to distinguish between these two approaches.

To begin with functional definitions: Andrea distinguishes three forms of functional definition (Andrea (1982) p.41). These are illustrated by definitions used by Durkheim, Geertz and Luckmann respectively.

Durkheim defines religion as "a unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things, that is to say things set apart or forbidden - beliefs and practices which unite into one single moral community called a Church, all those who adhere to them". (Durkheim (1976 edn.) p.47) Social cohesion and solidarity are basic to this definition.

Geertz, following Parsons and Bellah, writes of religion providing guidelines for the highest and most general level of cultural system. This stresses the anthropological function of religion in providing meaning to a society. (76) (77)

Luckmann writes of religion as that which gives individual meaning, thus

stressing the cultural and psychological function of religion. (Luckmann (1967) pp.50-52)

Substantive definitions of religion are not concerned with the function of religion for society, the community or the individual, but with the content of religious belief. Wach's definition of religion as "the experience of the Holy" (Wach (1944)) is a simple definition in this category. Its usefulness is limited, however, because of its generality. James' definition is a little more precise: "the feelings, acts and experiences of individual men in their solitude, so far as they apprehend themselves to stand in relation to whatever they may consider the Divine". (James (1919) p.3) Yet this definition seems to preclude corporate activities as being religious, relying entirely on the individual's subjective experience as the test for religion.

For the purposes of this study, the word religion will be used to refer to a system of beliefs and practices whose primary explicit justification is in terms of developing a closer relationship of the individual or the group with a supernatural entity or entities.

We shall mostly be considering the Christian religion. Yet some activities of the Christian Church, such as fund-raising or social activities, will not be described as religious since their primary justification is this-worldly. Some activities will be on the border-line of being regarded as religious: these might include Remembrance Sunday ceremonies or the occasional offices of the Church (baptisms, marriages and funerals). In cases such as these some participants see what is happening in purely social or cultural terms, whereas for others the event is clearly religious.

The agenda for the local church lies in its response to its new situation. How does it function with a largely associational membership, in tension with a secular ethic, as a 'serving' community and, especially, in a world in which secularisation has caused religion to be regarded as a matter quite separate from the rest of life?

Chapter 3 - Notes

1. Balley draws attention to *the way in which* the secular parochial system in England was adopted by the church and effectively 'sacralised'.
(Balley (1983) 1.80)
2. "No correlation is more definite or more constant than that between a given economic level of society and the nature of supernatural beings postulated by the tribe at large or by the religious individual in particular". (Radin (1957) p.192)
3. Perkins also argues for the irreversibility of secularisation (Perkins (1969) - quoted in Gilbert (1980) p.44), although Gilbert argues against this.
4. Douglas warns against assuming that all primitive societies are religious. (Douglas (1970) p.36)
5. See Gilbert (1980) p.18.
6. Berger also refers to the latent secularity of Biblical religion.
(Berger (1969) p.30)
7. See Gilbert (1980) p.24).
8. Ellul claims that this was important in leading to the acceleration of technical progress. (Ellul (1965) p.38)
9. See Stark (1972) p.375 et seq.
10. See Gilbert (1980) p.26.
11. Towler and Coxon draw attention to the transfer of power from the clergy to the laity in Tudor times as being a further major phase in the process of secularisation. (Towler and Coxon (1979) p.5) Note that "The term secularisation was first used as a neutral word to designate the expropriation of church lands for redistribution to various

principalities in the Treaty of Westphalia (1648)". (Winter (1963) p.30)

12. See Tawney (1938) p.199.
13. See Weber (1930) p.112.
14. See Baum (1975) p.177.
15. See Budd (1973) p.60.
16. See Aron (1970) p.223.
17. See Tawney (1938) p.179 et seq.
18. See Budd (1973) p.62.
19. Martin identifies one of the four major components of the process of secularisation as being "The Calvinistic and Enlightenment Element" (Martin (1978) p.8); the other three being "Crucial Event", "Resultant Patterns" and "Relationship of Religion to the Growth of Nationalism and Cultural Identity."
20. See Yinger (1957) p.139.
21. See Acquaviva (1979) p.97.
22. Meller sees the novel nineteenth century idea of a 'man directed' future appearing in the writings of Barnett. (Meller (1979) p.19, and Barnett (1894))
23. Neumann claims the support of Weber for the idea of a distinction between civilisation, which is progressive, and culture, which is not necessarily progressive. (Neumann (1965) p.353 et seq.)
24. Hooykaas writes of science, not as displacing religion, but as the outcome of certain religious views. (Hooykaas (1972) p.161)
25. See Murphy (1955) p.816.
26. Gilbert's list closely resembles the eight "sociological factors upsetting the process of valuation in modern society" listed by Mannheim (1943) p.17f.

27. See Murphy (1955) p.816.
28. See Stark (1972) pp.1-6.
29. See Section 2(c)(i) in Chapter II (page 16) of this study.
30. In generalising about religion ceasing to provide a sense of belonging, it is possible to overlook how sections within society are bound together by their religious beliefs. A possible instance of this is Methodism providing a binding force for the urban working class in the early nineteenth century.

Halevy contended that revolutionary ferment was displaced into the religious sphere in England by Methodism (Halevy (1924) p.339). Hill stresses the way in which Methodism allowed social mobility to the new urban middle class of that period (Hill (1974) p.407f). Himmelfarb, on the other hand, sees the evangelical movement, of which Methodism was part, simply as an instrument of repression, keeping political ferment at bay. (Himmelfarb (1968) p.293) Habgood writes of conflict between established and dissenting religious groups as providing for conflicts of interest being worked out without the risk of social breakdown. (Habgood (1983) p.20)

31. See Stark (1972) p.375 et seq.
32. Slater comments on the diversity of valid points of view with Christianity. (Slater (1979) p.93)
33. Troeltsch cites the disintegration of Christendom, resulting from the emergence of sects, as a major cause of secularisation. (Troeltsch (1981 edn.) p.378f)
34. See further discussion of this in Chapter IX, Section 2(b) (page 252) of this study.
35. See Stark (1972) pp.1-6.
36. Butler writes of the "bio-social necessity" of religion; especially of

Christianity in the West. (Butler (1976))

37. See Tillich (1962) p.47f.
38. See Grundy (1979) p.352.
39. See Jung (1960) p.113 and (1959) p.21.
40. See Nelbuh (1946) p.76.
41. Durkheim, in his 1898 paper "The Individual and the Intellectuals" proposes the displacement of religion by individual rationality (see Budd (1973) p.135).
42. See Acquaviva (1979) p.202.
43. Bailey's work on "Implicit Religion" shows the range of ways in which some religious needs appear to be met. See the range of topics covered in the collection of articles in Bailey (1986).
44. See Budd (1973) p.37.
45. This is the theme of "The Division of Labour in Society" (Durkheim (1947) - see Aron (1970) p.16.
46. Budd quotes the following example of the use of ritual for social unification: "in 1853 the Presbytery of Scotland petitioned the Monarch for a fast against cholera - a classic Durkheimian example of the use of ritual for social unification". (Budd (1973) p.133)
47. See Radcliffe-Brown (1948) p.233f.
48. Perman (1977) p.52 defines desacralisation as the breakdown of the belief that certain things and certain people are set apart by being in a special relationship with God.
49. "Desacralisation is a change in the intensity and incidence of the experience of the sacred as a psychological experience of the "wholly other"" - this is Acquaviva's own, rather unhelpful, definition. (Acquaviva (1979) p.35)
50. Greeley lists five changes for religion in the modern world (Greeley

(1973) p.13 et seq.).

51. Martin produces a long list in his comparative chart analysing patterns of secularisation. (Martin (1978) p.58)

52. Gilbert's analysis of the effects of secularisation is similarly three-fold:

(i) Removal of the authority of the Catholic Church in the West.

(ii) Choice about *individual* religious belief.

(iii) Political forces leading to religious tolerance.

(Gilbert (1980) p.26f)

Mannheim also identifies three consequences of secularisation:

(i) Religion is reduced to Sunday worship.

(ii) Religion loses its foothold in the ruling groups.

(iii) The public mistrust of the Church's pronouncements.

(Mannheim (1943) p.101)

53. Winter notes that 'secularisation' was first used to describe the expropriation of church lands. (Winter (1963) p.35)

54. See Budd (1973) p.120.

55. See Edwards (1978) p.219f.

56. In his discussion of secularisation, Martin pays particular attention to the role of the Catholic Church. Its monopolistic nature seems to lead to its identification with particular political positions in different situations (Martin (1978)) - see also Habgood (1983) p.20f and Gilbert (1980) p.26ff.

57. Towler and Coxon claim that this affects sectarian groups much less than it does "the church". Sectarian groups foster much stronger commitment by individual members and thus their religion stays nearer "the centre" of their lives. (Towler and Coxon (1979) p.3)

58. Van Peursen defined secularisation as "the deliverance of man, first from religious, and then from metaphysical control over his reason and language". (See Cox (1965) p.2)
59. See Gilbert (1980) p.12.
60. See Gilbert op.cit. p.26f.
61. Weber is clear that ethical religion is in far greater tension with the world than ritualistic or legalistic religion. (Weber (1964) p.207)
62. A fascinating study was carried out amongst American college students showing that religious students had a wider agreement with basic American values than had other students. (Goldsen et al (1960))
63. Jung claims that the human psyche needs myths and mysteries. He claims that the sightings of flying saucers are a response to this need. (Jung (1959) p.21)
64. See Altizer and Hamilton (1968).
65. The publication of "Honest to God" by John Robinson (Robinson (1963)) and controversial public statements by the Bishop of Durham in 1986 have been the best examples of this in post-war Britain.
66. This relates to the discussion of the Church-Sect model in Chapter II, sections 3(a) (page 22) and 3(b) (page 24) of this study.
67. See the discussion of the Church-Sect model in Section 3(a) of Chapter II of this study.
68. Williams describes the life of a village church in Gosforth. (Williams (1969)) The membership is clearly communal; if you live in the village then the village church is your church. Yet church attendance has been low throughout the earlier part of this century, when church attendance in England in general has been comparatively high (op.cit. p.178). In

contrast Thomas writes of the upswing of church attendance in suburbia (Thomas (1969)) where church membership relies of people actively 'joining' the church. Thomas describes the ironic process of churches gaining large associational memberships through residents, of areas without any communal sense of belonging, seeking communal belonging by joining the church.

69. The two options suggested by Jenkins are that the church might retain its distinctiveness but work in co-operation with secular authority, or stand prophetically against the secular world. (Jenkins (1975))
70. See Hunt (1980) p.258f.
71. Mannheim puts the reduction of religion to "attending Sunday services" as the first consequence of secularisation. (Mannheim (1943) p.101)
72. Wilson shows how little is left as the area in which the church is regarded as having adequate expertise. (Wilson (1966) pp.54-73)
73. See Hinings (1968) p.33.
74. It could be argued that the church's social concerns arise from the depression of the 1930's, concerns focused by William Temple. (see Temple (1957) p.129) Thus it would be argued that before the 1930's the church was concerned only with 'religious' affairs, then after that time became concerned with social matters. This seems to contradict the notion that it is the more recent process of social differentiation which has pushed the Church into the 'God slot'. What this ignores is that social differentiation began in earnest with the Industrial Revolution and was, therefore, largely accomplished by the 1930's. Temple was simply stemming this tide a little by reasserting that the Church must be 'involved with the whole of life.'
74. Howell-Thomas argues strongly that the church is mistaken in doing this and that the church must not be confined to a diminished area of

concern. (Howell-Thomas (1974) p.90)

75. See Andrea (1982) p.41.

76. See Bellah (1965) and Parsons (1961) pp.963-993.